

TIME

First Family

The unlikely, untested and
unprecedented campaign of
Mayor **Pete Buttigieg**

BY CHARLOTTE ALTER

*The Democratic
presidential
candidate (right)
and husband
Chasten, at
their home in
South Bend, Ind.*



TIME

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*Buttigieg greets
supporters after
his campaign
kickoff speech in
South Bend, Ind.,
on April 14*

*Photograph by
Elliot Ross for TIME*

ON THE COVER:
*Photograph by
Ryan Pfluger for
TIME*

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TIME 100 SUMMIT

On Tuesday, April 23, TIME held its first annual TIME 100 Summit at Center415 in New York City. The day-long event convened more than 700 people including TIME 100 honorees, CEOs, philanthropists and next-generation leaders.



THANK YOU

TO THE SPONSORS OF THE TIME 100 SUMMIT



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT

JR; Tim Cook; José Andrés; Jane Goodall; Tarana Burke and Joy Reid; Oscar Muñoz; Tyra Banks; Yo-Yo Ma

Please Drink Responsibly. Imported by Diageo, Norwalk, CT.

From the Editor

The power of influence

THE TIME 100 LIST OF THE WORLD'S MOST influential people—and the annual gala that follows it—has always been a celebration of people shaping the news. This year, I'm happy to report that we made some news of our own.

On April 23, for the first time ever, we brought together TIME 100 honorees from across the years for a daylong summit. This extraordinary group of leaders and visionaries was a reflection of the unique mix of the TIME 100, including politicians, business leaders, artists, actors, activists and scientists.

Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi discussed the internal debate in her party about whether to initiate impeachment proceedings against President Trump, sharing her own view that it's "one of the most divisive paths we could go down in our country." Jared Kushner, senior adviser to (and son-in-law of) Trump, provided a rare glimpse into his expansive role in the Administration, arguing that the Mueller investigation has been "more harmful" to the U.S. than Russian interference in the 2016 campaign.

Supermodel and entrepreneur Tyra Banks talked about the importance of hiring and empowering woman, particularly women of color. Tim Cook, the leader of the world's first trillion-dollar company, talked about Apple's aspirations not for its iPhones and music service but as an innovator in health. "I do think," he said, "that there will be the day that we will look back and say, 'Apple's greatest contribution to mankind has been in health care.'" Trailblazing television creator Ryan Murphy spoke about representation in media: "I'm not interested in living in the real world. I'm interested in living in the world that I want to live in."

The day convened not only influential people but also influential objects! Yo-Yo Ma brought his cello and kicked off the morning with a meditation by Johann Sebastian Bach. Conservationist Jane Goodall,

whom the audience greeted with a standing ovation, brought the toy monkey with whom she travels around the world (Mr. H), as well as a stuffed cow (named Cow) meant to symbolize the benefits of vegetarianism. And TIME being an institution that embraces diverse points of view, Michelin-

starred chef José Andrés brought a ham. His signature *jamón ibérico* was shared with the audience (a group of about 700, including select TIME subscribers) ahead of his conversation with Martha Stewart about the power of food to deliver hope. You can watch highlights from the day at time.com/summit

THE SUMMIT WAS a first step to tap into the collective power of the TIME 100 and encourage cross-disciplinary collaboration within it. Our hope is that the list is not only a recognition of what has been done—but also a call for all the work that's left to do. We look forward to engaging the entire TIME community as we expand this exciting initiative.

Another initiative I'm excited about is connecting our readers to the major 2020 presidential candidates from each party. This week, Charlotte Alter talks to Democratic presidential hopeful Pete Buttigieg—the first in a series of these profiles. "We're obviously

still in the very beginning of the race, and the only rule of politics is that everything changes," says Alter, who first met Buttigieg in 2017 while reporting a story on millennial mayors. "But Democrats have been talking about Biden, Warren, Harris and Sanders since the moment Trump was elected. Buttigieg is the only major 2020 candidate who seems to have come out of nowhere."



^
Felsenthal
interviews Hillary
Clinton at the
summit

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TIME 100 Summit

A meeting of minds

MORE THAN 700 PEOPLE attended the inaugural TIME 100 Summit in Manhattan on April 23, and thousands more tuned in from around the world for the livestream of conversations led by TIME journalists and TIME 100 honorees. Watch highlights from the invitation-only event at time.com/summit and entire panels at youtube.com/TIME



'If the path of fact-finding takes us there, we have no choice ... We're not there yet.'

NANCY PELOSI,

Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, on whether her fellow Democrats should hold hearings on impeaching President Trump



SNEAK PEEK

Attendees also previewed TIME's and Felix & Paul Studios' virtual-reality look at life on the International Space Station, captured by Canadian astronaut David Saint-Jacques. Get a glimpse of the immersive documentary series, debuting in 2020, at time.com/space



"Come and sit at the table." That small gesture speaks volumes.'

GAYLE KING,

CBS *This Morning* co-host, on what white men can do to help their female and minority colleagues, on a panel with, from left, venture capitalist Aileen Lee, Bumble CEO Whitney Wolfe Herd and entrepreneur Tyra Banks

A DIP FOR DENIERS

Jane Goodall, the 85-year-old conservationist who revolutionized the study of chimpanzees, challenged members of her audience to use their ability to think big to come up with a bold plan to conserve earth's limited resources and species—and fast. Though she brought toy animals onstage as visual aids, her subject was serious. "Deniers of climate change, I want them to go to the Antarctic where the sea ice is melting faster than ever before," she said, "and dump them in the middle of it."



'Just because it's black don't mean it's woke.'

LEE DANIELS,

Empire co-creator, arguing that when it comes to filmmaking, the message is more important than the messenger



AFTER MUELLER

DAYS AFTER THE RELEASE of special counsel Robert Mueller's redacted report on Russian interference in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, senior adviser to the President **Jared Kushner** argued at the summit that the probe and its fallout had been worse for American democracy than anything Russia did, which he characterized as "buying some Facebook ads to try to sow dissent." (The Mueller report described Russian interference ranging from hacking to pursuing meetings with members of the Trump campaign.) "If you look at the magnitude of what they did," Kushner said, "the ensuing investigations have been way more harmful."



'When your founder doesn't have one, it kinda says a lot of what people can do without a college education.'

TIM COOK,

Apple CEO, on the fact that about half of the company's U.S. hires in 2018 don't have a four-year college degree



TIME 100



On Tuesday, April 23, TIME held its 15th annual TIME 100 Gala at New York City's Jazz at Lincoln Center to celebrate the world's most influential people. More than 300 luminaries attended, including artists, activists, leaders, and entrepreneurs from around the world.



THANK YOU

TO THE SPONSORS OF THE TIME 100 GALA



CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT

Lauren Bush Lauren, David Lauren, Julianne Moore and Clare Waight Keller; Khalid and Taylor Swift; Sandra Oh; Questlove; Jimmy Fallon; Trevor Noah, Mohamed Salah and Hasan Minhaj; Sophia Bush and Nancy Pelosi, Annie Starke and Glenn Close; Yalitza Aparicio; Dwayne Johnson

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TIME 100 Gala

A starry evening

THE INFLUENTIAL INDIVIDUALS ON THE TIME 100 OFTEN say one of the best parts of being on the list is the opportunity to meet in person the people who, in turn, influence them at the TIME 100 Gala, held this year on April 23 at Jazz at Lincoln Center. When Sandra Oh started to offer a toast, she was briefly distracted by the Speaker of the House. “Are you kidding me? Are you kidding me? Nancy Pelosi! I literally glanced this way, and this is who I see,” she said. “It’s fantastic.” And Dwayne Johnson later reflected on Instagram that he was glad to now be “best friends” with Glenn Close. “So much love and respect for her,” he wrote. “And thank you for calling me the ‘Beyoncé for men.’” See more at [TIME.com/TIME100](https://www.time.com/TIME100)



Three-time TIME 100 honoree Taylor Swift performs her hit songs “Love Story” and “New Year’s Day”



Top: Naomi Campbell takes a selfie. Bottom: Edward Felsenthal with Game of Thrones’ Emilia Clarke and 2018 Person of the Year Maria Ressa



Right: *TIME* co-chairs and owners Lynne and Marc Benioff, center, at dinner, flanked by Gayle King and Dwayne Johnson



House Speaker Nancy Pelosi with, from left, comedians Trevor Noah, John Oliver and Jimmy Fallon



Left: Glenn Close, center, talks to Julianne Moore, center below, with Marlon James, center left, and Helena Christensen, right. Above: Sandra Oh, right, and Indya Moore

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The Brief

IN DANGER
Amid the turmoil
on April 30, a
protester is hit
by a Venezuelan
National Guard
vehicle in Caracas



INSIDE

A NEW ERA BEGINS FOR THE
JAPANESE MONARCHY

SRI LANKA FACES QUESTIONS ON
RESPONSE TO EASTER BOMBINGS

HORSE FATALITIES HAVE RACING
ADVOCATES WORRIED

PHOTOGRAPH BY UESLEI MARCELINO

WORLD

The U.S. watches, Venezuela teeters

By Karl Vick

IN THE PREDAWN HOURS OF APRIL 30, THE contest for control of Venezuela once again appeared to be coming to a head. Juan Guaidó, the young reformer who claims the mantle of President, announced from inside a military base in the capital, Caracas, that he was taking charge. And nearby stood evidence that the security forces were finally falling in line: fellow opposition leader Leopoldo López, freed from house arrest, his guards apparently having defected.

“At this moment, I am with the main military units of our armed forces, starting the final phase of Operation Liberty,” Guaidó said. He called on Venezuelans to gather in the streets to take power from Nicolás Maduro, who has sat in the presidential palace since 2013 but whose presidency has been deemed null and void by much of the international community.

By day’s end, however, the uprising was anything but final—and the only thing clear was how much has changed in Latin American politics in the 21st century. From 1900 to 2006, power changed hands in the region 162 times via military coup, typically announced from the studio of a state broadcaster. In a striking number of cases—at least 41, by the count of a Harvard study—the force behind the coup was the U.S., which maintained a proprietary hold over the hemisphere it regarded as its realm.

This time the picture is as diffuse as the forces holding the situation in stalemate. Washington clearly has an appetite for toppling Maduro, as tweets from Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and Vice President Mike Pence made clear. But Uncle Sam could credibly claim to be one of a crowd. Some 50 nations recognize Guaidó’s claim to the presidency, and support also came in tweets from the governments of Brazil, Colombia, Paraguay and others. It was Chile that opened a diplomatic residence to López, free from house arrest but not safe in a divided and dangerous Caracas. He later moved to the Spanish embassy.

Just as in February, when Guaidó traveled to Venezuela’s border with Colombia in hopes of riding blockaded aid trucks to victory, things did not go as

planned. Geoff Ramsey, an analyst at the Washington Office on Latin America, told TIME the day showed that “neither the regime nor the opposition is as strong as they thought they were.”

Neither is Washington. As Maduro’s security forces resisted and Guaidó’s call to action fizzled, top Trump Administration officials were reduced to accusing Maduro loyalists of backing out of promises to defect.

SO THE STANDOFF RESUMED. Maduro remains deeply unpopular, tied as he is to the near total collapse of the economy, which has driven 3.7 million Venezuelans to leave the oil-rich country. That exodus into the neighboring nations has galvanized the region to overthrow Maduro—but nonviolently.

Yet despite U.S. economic sanctions, Maduro still has funds to buy the loyalty of senior military officers. And Guaidó isn’t the only one with international backers. Maduro has the support of Cuba, China and, most of all, Russia, drawn both by oil and ambition. And ordinary Venezuelans fear the plainclothes thugs loyal to Maduro known as *colectivos*, notorious for firing into crowds and targeting protesters.

The Trump Administration is preoccupied by the involvement of Moscow and Havana in Maduro’s survival. In a tweet on April 30, President Donald Trump threatened a “full and complete embargo” on Cuba if it did not withdraw troops he said were assisting Maduro. Pompeo earlier claimed the Kremlin had stepped in to persuade Maduro not to flee. “He had an airplane on the tarmac, he was ready to leave this morning, as we understand it,” he said in an interview, “and the Russians indicated he should stay.”

Ramsey says the White House has involved itself in Venezuela mainly to enhance electoral prospects among right-wing expatriates of the region in Florida. White House National Security Adviser John Bolton was at the Bay of Pigs Veterans Association on April 17, the 58th anniversary of the Cuban exiles’ failed bid to take back the island with the backing of the CIA. But the White House threat that “all options are on the table” has not reached the Pentagon, which has said it has no plans to intervene. Clearly, Maduro feels he can confidently ignore the saber’s rattle.

“In some ways it’s good, obviously, because the U.S. is no longer the great regional hegemon that determines everything that happens,” says Phil Gunson, a Latin America analyst with the International Crisis Group. “The sense that this is more multipolar now is not by any means a bad thing. But there doesn’t seem to be an easy way to resolve these things anymore.”



‘Guaidó and Leopoldo López are in a situation where there is no turning back.’

HAMILTON MOURÃO,
Brazil’s Vice President,
on Guaidó (above left)
and López (right)



ENTER THE KING Japan's Emperor Naruhito begins his reign with a speech at the Imperial Palace in Tokyo on May 1, a day after his father, 85-year-old Emperor Akihito, became the nation's first monarch to step down in more than 200 years. After 30 years as the 125th Emperor of Japan, Akihito was given special dispensation to step down because of declining health. Naruhito, 59, promised to act as a "symbol of the Japanese state and the unity of the Japanese people."

THE BULLETIN

Sri Lanka bans face coverings as it scrambles to respond to Easter attacks

EIGHT DAYS AFTER THE APRIL 21 BOMBINGS in Sri Lanka left at least 253 dead, the government announced that all face coverings would be banned in public, saying the move would help the search for those involved. The bombings, carried out by alleged Islamist militants who targeted churches and high-end hotels, were the most fatal violence the country has suffered since its civil war ended in 2009. Although the ban did not specifically mention Islamic veils, critics have denounced the measure for stirring suspicions against Muslims, who make up 9.7% of Sri Lanka's diverse population.

UNDER PRESSURE After ISIS on April 23 claimed responsibility for the attacks, there were reports of mobs roaming the streets and beatings of Muslim residents. Nearly 1,000 mostly Muslim refugees fled or were forced out of their homes in the week following the bombings, according to Human Rights Watch. No deaths have so far been reported, but in that climate, Muslim community leaders say, the ban on face coverings was ill-conceived—especially given that they had already agreed to a voluntary suspension of veil wearing.

CRACKDOWN The face-covering ban hasn't been the only decision to draw scrutiny of Sri Lanka's response to the Easter Sunday attacks. For nine days after the attacks, the government blocked social-media services including Facebook and WhatsApp in an attempt to stop the spread of misinformation; it's unclear whether that made a difference. Meanwhile, some of those behind the plot are still believed to be at large. A shoot-out on April 26 left 15 people dead, including three suspected suicide bombers and six children, according to authorities.

RELIGIOUS TENSION The Sri Lankan government has been heavily criticized for its failure to prevent the attacks despite receiving advance warnings from Indian intelligence agencies. The country has a long history of ethnic tension, and in recent years Buddhist nationalists (who are part of the Sinhalese majority) have attacked both Muslims and Christians. With presidential elections due to be held by the end of 2019, whether their government can protect the country from future violence—without widening religious fault lines—is on the minds of many Sri Lankans. —BILLY PERRIGO

NEWS TICKER

Trump adds new asylum restrictions

President Donald Trump on April 29 outlined new requirements for asylum seekers at the U.S.-Mexico border, including **application fees and work-permit restrictions**. His memo gives officials 90 days to implement the new restrictions and orders all cases in the system to be closed in 180 days.

Sports court rules against Semenya

The top court governing international sports, in a landmark May 1 decision, rejected Olympic runner Caster Semenya's challenge to limits on testosterone levels for athletes in women's track events.

The ruling means **female athletes with naturally high levels of the hormone will have to take suppressants** to compete in many races.

Two dead in North Carolina shooting

A gunman opened fire at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte on April 30, killing two people and wounding four others.

The police **found and disarmed the suspected shooter** and took him into custody before he could move on to another classroom.

NEWS
TICKER

300 poll
workers dead
in Indonesia

Indonesia's April 17 elections were linked to the deaths of over 300 poll workers, many of whom reportedly **suffered fatigue-related ailments after working long hours in high heat**, the elections commission said on April 29. The country has until May 22 to reach a final count on more than 150 million votes.

U.S. backed
out on NoKo
hostage bill

The U.S. **did not pay a North Korean medical bill for North Otto Warmbier**—the American who died days after being released from custody there in 2017—despite agreeing to it, National Security Adviser John Bolton said on April 28, confirming a Washington Post report that President Donald Trump had earlier called “fake news.”

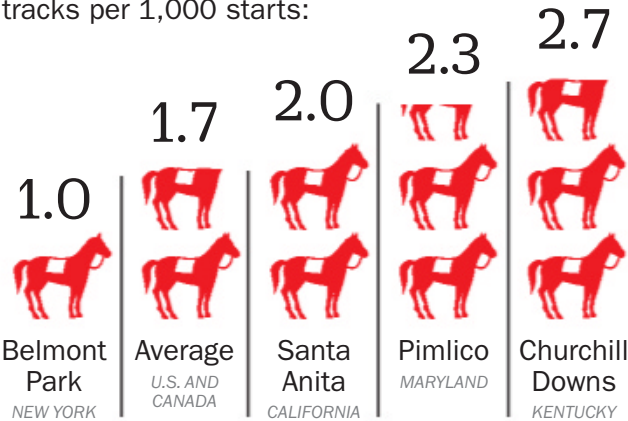
Center-left
triumphs at
Spanish polls

Spain's center-left **Socialist Party won the country's April 28 elections** with 123 of 350 seats in congress. The main center-right party lost half its seats, in part because far-right party Vox took 24 seats—the first for a far-right party since the death of Spain's right-wing dictator Francisco Franco in 1975.

GOOD QUESTION
Why are so many
racehorses dying?

THE KENTUCKY DERBY, WHICH WILL BE run for the 145th time on May 4, is America's oldest continuously held major sporting event. But this year, talk of mint juleps and Triple Crown dreams may be overshadowed by a disturbing spate of horse deaths, and by fresh calls for regulation. Since late December, nearly two dozen thoroughbreds have died racing or training at California's Santa Anita Park alone, forcing a temporary shut-down. The cause of those deaths is unknown, though the county is investigating. But advocates see them as part of a larger problem: in 2018 in the U.S. and Canada, an average of almost 10 horses a week died or were euthanized within 72 hours of sustaining a catastrophic race injury. —EMILY BARONE

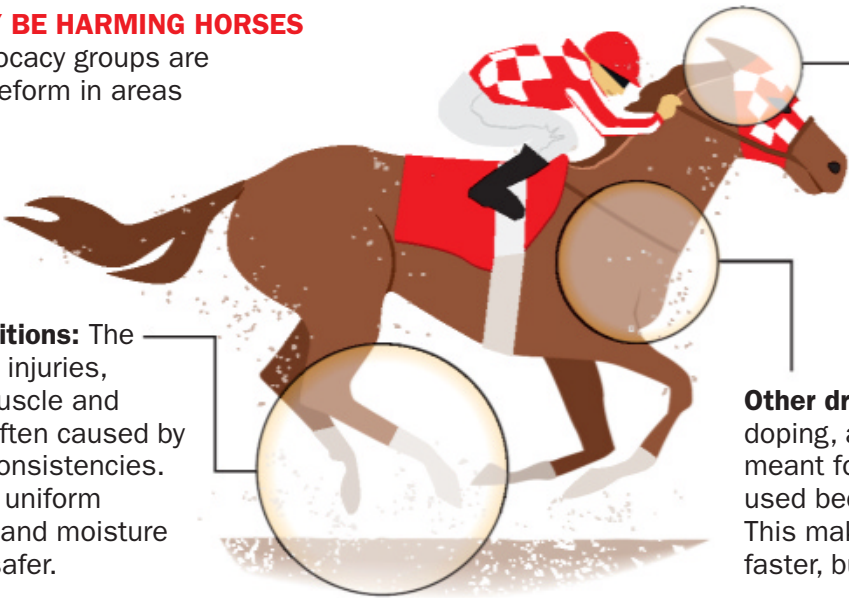
FATALITIES ON U.S. TRACKS
Last year, 493 horses died in the U.S. and Canada from racing injuries. That's down from past years but higher than in Australia or the U.K. Here are deaths at select tracks per 1,000 starts:



WHAT MAY BE HARMING HORSES

Racing advocacy groups are calling for reform in areas including:

Track conditions: The most lethal injuries, involving muscle and bone, are often caused by surface inconsistencies. Tracks with uniform cushioning and moisture levels are safer.



Painkillers: At some tracks, horses can receive pain-suppressing drugs the day before a race. A horse that can't fully feel an injury may exacerbate it.

Other drugs: The industry tolerates doping, and a drug called Lasix, meant for a lung condition, is widely used because it induces urination. This makes a horse lighter and faster, but also dehydrated for days.

SOURCE: CHURCHILL DOWNS DEATH COUNTS ARE FROM THE LOUISVILLE COURIER JOURNAL; ALL OTHERS ARE FROM THE JOCKEY CLUB'S EQUINE-INJURY DATABASE

MEDIA
Paper jams

Australian tabloid the *Daily Telegraph* accidentally included two pages from its rival paper, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, in its April 25 edition. Here, other swappy copy. —Madeline Roache

SINNER'S SLIP
One small word changed a big idea when it was omitted from a 1631 Bible, making the Seventh Commandment “Thou shalt commit adultery.” A thousand copies were printed of the much sought-after “Wicked Bible.”

EARLY EDITION
The *Chicago Tribune* went to press early and wound up with history's most famous incident of printing the wrong thing, declaring a White House win for Thomas Dewey over actual 1948 victor Harry S. Truman.



ERROR MESSAGE
In 2016, the installation of a web-browser extension led unintentionally to President Donald Trump's name on *Wired* magazine's website being replaced with the words “Someone With Tiny Hands.”

Milestones

DIED

Serbian journalist **Dejan Anastasijevic**, who covered the rise of nationalism in his country, for outlets including *TIME*, on April 24 at 57.

APPEARED

ISIS leader **Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi**, in a video on April 29, after disappearing for five years, during which experts had thought he might have been dead or seriously injured.

DONATED

\$500,000 to Mexico-based projects that help migrants stopped at the U.S. border, **by Pope Francis**, the Vatican said on April 27.

OUSTED

National Rifle Association president Oliver North, by the group, amid controversy over NRA spending and a leadership struggle with CEO Wayne LaPierre. The clash came amid dueling allegations of mismanagement and extortion; LaPierre won re-election to his role on April 29.

DECLARED

That workers at an unidentified **gig-economy company are contractors**—not employees—by the U.S. Department of Labor on April 29. The case has implications for companies such as Uber and Lyft.

FOUND

A **beluga whale** wearing a Russian harness and a GoPro camera, by fishermen off the coast of Norway. Marine experts believe the whale was trained by the Russian navy to search for boats.



*Singleton on the set of *Boyz n the Hood*; when the film screened at Cannes in 1991, it received a 20-minute standing ovation*

DIED

John Singleton Cinema trailblazer

THE “OSCARS SO WHITE” DEBACLE OF 2015 OPENED A GALVANIZING conversation about how filmmakers of color might carve out greater opportunity in Hollywood. But John Singleton, who died on April 29 at age 51 following a stroke, was at the forefront of that battle long before we had a hashtag for it, ushering in a new era of creativity and boldness among black filmmakers.

Singleton’s 1991 debut, *Boyz n the Hood*, dealt frankly with inner-city violence, but to say it is “about” violence is to grossly oversimplify it. Singleton, barely in his 20s when he wrote and directed the film, told a story about the tragedy of black men killing one another, but even that was only a small story within a bigger one. *Boyz n the Hood* is also about parents who strive to raise their kids with sturdy values, and young people who want to do what’s right even when circumstances pull them in another direction. Although set in a specific time and place, the tale is universal—and so beautifully told that it feels fresh nearly 30 years later. It made Singleton the youngest person and the first African American to be nominated for a Best Director Oscar, and he went on to forge a long-lasting and varied career for himself as a director, writer and producer, both in film and, more recently, in television.

Singleton spoke volumes through his movies, and through the projects of others that he helped bring to life. But he also spoke like a man who knew how to listen—one who knew that listening, not just talking, is the way to keep the conversation going, and the only path to fixing a world that can sometimes feel irreparably broken. —STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

DIED

Richard Lugar Worldly Senator

WHEN THE IRON CURTAIN fell in 1991, large arsenals of nuclear warheads were left vulnerable in the care of former Soviet states ill equipped to dismantle them. The world feared these weapons could fall into dangerous hands—so Senator Richard Lugar, who died on April 28 at age 87, did something about it. The 1991 Soviet Nuclear Threat Reduction Act, which he drafted with Senator Sam Nunn, led to the deactivation of more than 7,600 nuclear weapons around the world.

His dedication to nuclear nonproliferation was not the only way the moderate Republican Senator from Indiana, who served six consecutive terms, secured a legacy as a foreign-affairs heavyweight. He served twice as chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and, as an outspoken voice against apartheid in South Africa, was instrumental in overturning President Reagan’s veto of trade sanctions against the country.

In 2012, President Obama awarded Lugar the Presidential Medal of Freedom. “He understood the intricacies of America’s power,” Obama remarked following Lugar’s passing, “and the way words uttered in Washington echo across the globe.”

—WILDER DAVIES



Conductor **Yannick Nézet-Séguin** is ushering in a new act for the Metropolitan Opera

By **Lily Rothman**

IN THE FLY SPACE ABOVE THE STAGE AT THE Metropolitan Opera and around and behind it, scenery waits to be called into action. An intricate system of pulleys and lifts allows quick changes. Today's afternoon rehearsal for *Dialogues des Carmélites*, for example, will be followed only hours later by a performance of *Rigoletto*. And in a place of many moving pieces, Yannick Nézet-Séguin fits right in—even though he's standing at the head of the orchestra in a T-shirt and sneakers while the singers are costumed for 18th century France.

Nézet-Séguin, whose conducting of Francis Poulenc's *Carmélites* will put a bow on his first season as music director at the New York City institution, is a man with many batons in the air. He fills parallel roles at the Philadelphia Orchestra and at the Orchestre Métropolitain, in his hometown of Montreal, and when he began this gig in 2018, it was two years ahead of schedule. The appointment was announced in 2016 for a 2020 start, but the timeline changed when his predecessor, James Levine, who'd held the job since 1976, was fired over accusations of sexual misconduct, which he denies but which were backed up by internal investigation. So he's plenty busy, and that's all in addition to his role in wider soul-searching about nothing less than the very future of classical music.

But on this rainy late-April day, he has more immediate work to focus on. Outside the auditorium, heavy-duty vacuums hum loudly across crimson carpets. Inside, the air fills with the notes that will be heard by audiences that come out to see *Carmélites* in person and at more than 2,200 movie theaters around the world that will, on May 11, host a live broadcast of the production.

Rehearsal went smoothly, Nézet-Séguin says afterward, sitting down to chat in a luxe dining room at the Met, and he feels similarly about his official first season. Although he wasn't really new here, having made his Met debut conducting *Carmen* in 2009 and easing into this job over the past two years, it's been "liberating" to be in the driver's seat. He decided at age 10 to be a conductor, and although his post entails conducting not only several operas a year but also a whole musical enterprise—with a hand in everything from the Young Artist Development Program to the arrangement of music stands—he says that's a good fit with the gregariousness that led him away from the

NÉZET-SÉGUIN QUICK FACTS

On the wall
Nézet-Séguin's favorite opera composers, whose pictures hang in his office, are Mozart, Verdi, Puccini and Strauss.

Wrist risk
The conductor got tendinitis from tensing his left hand to signal expression to the orchestra; he now stretches more and wears his watch on the other wrist for balance.

Pop quiz
Nézet-Séguin's nonclassical musical tastes favor Radiohead and Björk, whom he calls "the best pop artists ever."

more solitary pursuit of playing the piano. His priority has been to bring that mood to work, to help his colleagues feel "love for the art form again" after a difficult few years, so they pass on the feeling to audiences.

"In that respect I feel that it exceeded my expectations," he says of his first season, "because I felt immediately—from the orchestra, from the chorus and from everyone—really a willingness. They were not hard to convince."

It hasn't been hard to convince others to be enthusiastic about the Met's new era, either. Nézet-Séguin is shadowed today by the crew of a new documentary being made about him, and much media coverage of his Met appointment framed him as a last best hope for opera. The New York Times called him "quite possibly a savior for the troubled company," and riffing on an oft-cited nickname for the compact and energetic conductor, the Associated Press declared that "Mighty Mouse has come to save the Met." He's gotten used to the cameras, but the hero rhetoric sits less easily.

"I certainly don't see myself as a savior. The Met doesn't need to be saved," he says, leading the way to stop in at his office, a cozy space with windows on the plaza at Lincoln Center. "But I see my personality as helping, arriving at the right time."

NÉZET-SÉGUIN IS BRINGING more than just personality to the Met. He's become a symbol of change partly because of the man waiting for him in his office: violist Pierre Tourville, his long-time partner. The openness of Nézet-Séguin's Instagram-friendly life with Tourville and their cats is a rejoinder to old stereotypes about a glowering, distant, all-powerful maestro on a pedestal. And while he can't personally exemplify other types of diversity lacking in his field—a 2016 League of American Orchestras study found only 5% of conductors at major orchestras it looked at were African American; about 9% of all music directors were women—he sees championing inclusivity as key.

Working with general manager Peter Gelb, he plans to be closely involved in ensuring that what plays here better represents the world as it is, and in the process strengthening the company's connection to its city. Since its doors opened in 1883, the Met has performed only two operas by women; now it's actively commissioning them. For proof that this work is necessary, he points to history: Felix Mendelssohn's sister Fanny and Robert Schumann's wife Clara "put aside their great genius to serve the man's genius," he says. A person doesn't have to stop enjoying the better-known Mendelssohn and Schumann to acknowledge it's a shame we'll never know the music their counterparts could have created had they been able to flourish fully. Encouraging female and minority composers, conductors and



musicians is a promise to the next generation not to deprive them of great music that remains unwritten.

It's also a financial imperative. Nézet-Séguin is careful to stay away from talk about audiences dying out, which doesn't exactly make loyal patrons feel good, but he knows he must show potential new listeners that opera is for them too. It's time for artists to realize, he says, that it's no longer enough to play great music with great skill. They must forge a connection with the audience, and his role puts him at the forefront of that work.

It won't be easy. The venerable opera company has been selling tickets at two-thirds of its potential, as of the 2017 fiscal year; less than 30% of the revenue that balanced its \$301 million budget that year came from box office, with most of the rest from contributions. And it's not just the Met. When Nézet-Séguin arrived in Philly in 2012, that orchestra had recently gone through bankruptcy; the Met's neighboring New York City Opera also went through that process. Precarious finances introduce other risks too: an obsession with filling seats makes experimentation extra scary. "Of

'I certainly don't see myself as a savior. The Met doesn't need to be saved.'

YANNICK NÉZET-SÉGUIN, on the expectations he faces

course, everybody would like to think that budgets would be balanced all the time," he says. "But I think to fight a little bit more for your survival, this is what also keeps us alive."

Some critics have questioned how Nézet-Séguin can handle it all at once. To that, he says that splitting time among three cities is easier than the typical conductor's lifestyle of managing one orchestra and traveling the rest of the year, and that the companies are so different, there's no risk of a muddle. Whether critics are satisfied remains to be seen—conducting is a long-term endeavor—but he feels up to it. "I'm 44. I'm still very energetic," he says.

Energy helps, but to Nézet-Séguin, what sets his generation of conductors apart is a willingness to break down boundaries between musical genres, between those in the pit and the person on the podium, between audience and orchestra. A bit of mystique might be lost, but something special can take its place. Restaurants, he says, took time to get used to the idea of open kitchens; now they're everywhere. "We just need to think the same way," he says. "It doesn't detract from being the best." □

LightBox

Seizing the day

The end of Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir's three decades in power came in early April, after four months of mass protests. But the celebratory aura around Khartoum has since faded, and the protests aren't over. Weeks later, representatives of the ruling military council and civilian negotiators, tasked with forming a transitional government, remain divided over the role of the military. Here, on April 19, thousands of protesters gather outside military headquarters, demanding a swift transition to civilian rule.

Photograph by Bryan Denton—The New York Times/Redux
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The View

THE INTERNET

HATE CAN'T BE BLOCKED

By Alex Krasodonski-Jones

Like the gunman who killed 50 worshippers at two New Zealand mosques in March, the man who killed one person in a Poway, Calif., synagogue on April 27 announced his intentions on 8chan, an anonymous online message board with a reputation for violent extremism. In the wake of these and other murders, calls to shutter such sites have only grown louder. ▶

TheView Opener

Several Australian ISPs blocked 8chan right after the Christchurch, New Zealand, attack. There have also been suggestions for ways websites like Facebook could stop linking to these spaces, as well as demands for censorship or taking the sites down completely. But while these actions may prevent the spread of a video of a massacre in the short term, they may end up helping the ideologies responsible for these tragedies.

Blocking access to these platforms would validate users' long-running narrative that the mainstream simply can't deal with their edginess. For instance, 8chan has been blamed at various times for the spread of extremist bloodshed, campaigns of harassment and generally being a hot-bed of hate. The site hosts content that is illegal in several countries, and many of its users encouraged and delighted in the acts of anti-Semitic or Islamophobic violence—amid chats on gaming, fitness and anime.

8chan's users are well aware of its infamy and association with all the Establishment finds intolerable, from offensive jokes to extremist politics. Much of the content is designed to shock—and laugh at who's offended. The Christchurch and Poway shooters' manifestos, posted to the site before the killings started, are strewn with in-jokes, trolling and red herrings—with the twin aims of winking to the community and misleading unwitting, horrified journalists. It is deliberate provocation: search interest in 8chan spiked after the Christchurch massacre, no doubt because of the many articles published about it afterward.

Trying to knock out fringe sites will also create a never-ending game of whack-a-mole. 8chan itself was set up as a “free-speech-friendly” alternative to 4chan, which itself grew after Reddit banned several controversial sections. And consider ISIS propaganda, which after years of pressure from governments, social-media companies and security services is only marginally harder to find these days and clearly still reaches enough people to inspire harm. Besides, much of the far-right content originating on sites like 8chan is already everywhere, including on

the biggest platforms on the web—YouTube, Facebook, Twitter and Google—as well as thousands of other message boards and hosting platforms. 8chan may be among the worst, but it is not alone.

THE MYOPIC FOCUS on eliminating hateful content from the Internet fundamentally misses that it is the community—not the content—that drives radicalization. These sites are filled with their own icons, language and culture. On 8chan, the Christchurch killer has been branded a “saint,” and the Norwegian terrorist who killed 77 people in 2011 has been too. The most important thing

these sites offer a would-be gunman is companionship, recognition and, ultimately, an audience to impress. It's the desire for this sense of belonging that deserves far more of our focus.

Only a select few platforms can afford the investment in technology and manpower

needed to hide hate online: building algorithms that efficiently spot extremist propaganda; hiring exponentially more moderators to quickly remove content; doing more than the self-congratulatory bean counting of the posts scrubbed from one platform, only to leave the content readily findable elsewhere. For smaller forums like 8chan, doing this would be impossible.

Companies should take down more content faster, and perhaps fewer people will stumble across a video or a piece of extremist material they weren't expecting to see. But in the long term, governments must commit to understanding how and why extremist communities thrive in online spaces as well as the ways in which their users might be brought back into the fold. There's a lot to learn from sites like 8chan: alongside the violent extremism, these boards remain among the most innovative and forceful drivers of cultural change and politics online for the past decade. Trying to smother them may only make their worst elements more appealing.

Krasodomski-Jones is director of the Centre for the Analysis of Social Media at Demos



Pallbearers carry the casket of the shooting victim from the Chabad of Poway synagogue

SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

Mothering powerful kids

Esther Wojcicki reared two CEOs and a doctor—and is often asked how she did it. In a passage from her new book, *How to Raise Successful People*, she shares advice on what helped her along the way, including:

“The most fundamental respect we can show our children is toward their autonomy and individuality.”

Maintaining a worldview

“Collusion, obstruction of justice, impeachment or not, greedy tax breaks, medical care for all or none, refugees seeking compassion at our borders—as a citizen, I care deeply about all these things,” writes Robert Redford. But he urges perspective: “I also fail to see how any of it will matter without a planet to live on.”

What it took to say ‘I do’ to Joe Biden

Jill Biden explains in an excerpt from her new memoir, *Where the Light Enters*, why it was only after a fifth proposal that she agreed to marry the future Vice President. She writes about one of her concerns,

“If I gave Joe my whole heart, he had the power to break it.”

QUICK TALK

Melinda Gates explains how she's just like most women

*In her new memoir, **The Moment of Lift: How Empowering Women Changes the World**, the philanthropist examines the challenges facing women around the globe, in the U.S. and in her own home—and offers lessons for fighting back*

Do you worry that it's difficult for women to relate to you on the subject of inequality because you have so much wealth and power? One of the things I try to do in the book is break down the differences between myself and other women. Part of the reason I share some of the most difficult moments I've had in life, including abuse [by a former boyfriend], is to help people understand we are all more similar than we are different. My dream with this book is that people will start to see me totally for who I am and not as whatever label they might put on me—a wealthy woman who is out of touch, or I don't know what.

What was the hardest of your vulnerabilities to share? The abuse I experienced when I was younger. I only started telling family and friends about that a few years ago. I didn't realize it would be another level of difficulty to write it down on the page and word it in a way that I thought was my truth and then to speak that in the world. That was the hardest page for me to write. I wrote it and wrote it and rewrote it until I got it right.

Do you think the man in question will recognize himself? I don't know.

It wasn't until 10 years ago that you started considering yourself a feminist. Why? It took me time to wrestle with that word and to figure out what it means to me. And now I would say I'm an ardent feminist, because to me feminism means that a woman has her full voice and her full decision-making authority in any setting in life: home, community or workplace.

You refer to contraceptives as “the greatest lifesaving, poverty-ending, women-empowered innovation ever created.” Isn't that a bold statement?

We know that from good data. A longitudinal study proved that in [Bangladeshi] villages where women were counseled, had access to contraceptives and chose for themselves which type they wanted, those families over time were healthier and wealthier and the kids were better educated than in the villages that did not have that intervention. In the U.S., women can choose if and when to have children. That is an amazing step toward equality for women all over the planet.

You write about your faith as a Catholic but also that you think the church has helped enhance gen-

‘When I'm in the developing world, I have to take those stories in. And I have to let them break my heart.’

der biases. How so? By not allowing women to be priests and not having women in the top echelons. If our churches are the centers of our community, what are we saying to young girls and boys when they sit in those pews, where a female is not allowed to hold a position of the highest authority?

You describe a woman in northern India begging you to take some of her children. Were you tempted just to rescue her and her kids? Whenever you're in a situation like that, of course you are tempted to go to your wallet. But I know that is not what will ultimately change people's lives at scale. What you have to always make the determination of is, Will that systemically change what's going on for not just that one person but for a hundred people, a thousand, a hundred thousand, a million? When I'm in the developing world, I have to take those stories in. And I have to let them break my heart.

Do you plan to get more politically involved? I will stay involved at the same level Bill and I are involved today, which is that we don't publicly take a position on any political candidate. We don't believe in giving the way some very wealthy philanthropists are doing. The biggest thing I engage in, in the political sphere, is to call on governments to fund foreign aid, because it creates peace and stability around the world.

You write, “Great wealth can be very confusing.” What do you mean? You have so many options: how you spend your time, how you spend your resources. Because they know that you're donating money, people come up and tell you you're fantastic, something you said was fantastic or what you're wearing is the best ever. There can be a distorted point of view. The only way I know to break through that is to be in real relationship with people of all levels of wealth and to be able to have deep, authentic conversations. You have to keep your life as real as you possibly can—which means even though you might be able to pay for somebody else to go get your groceries, you still go and do that for yourself. —BELINDA LUSCOMBE





Nation

THE MUELLER PLAY

President Trump
is using the
special counsel's
report to roll back
post-Watergate
limits on
executive power

BY BRIAN BENNETT
AND TESSA BERENSON

*Trump rallies
supporters in
Green Bay, Wis.,
on April 27, a little
more than a week
after the release of
the Mueller report*

PHOTOGRAPH BY
ERIN SCHAFF

A

AS PRESIDENT DONALD TRUMP WALKED OUT OF THE South Portico of the White House on April 26, a reporter asked him if he had ordered the firing of special counsel Robert Mueller nearly two years ago. In the question, Trump apparently heard an echo of President Richard Nixon's 1973 firing of Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox, which came to be known as the Saturday Night Massacre and helped pave the way for Nixon's eventual resignation. "I'm a student of history," Trump said over the thumping blades of the waiting Marine One helicopter. "I see what you get when you fire people, and it's not good."

If Trump is a student of history, though, Mueller's recently released 448-page final report suggests the President has learned a different lesson from that of his predecessors. Rather than defer to the constraints that Nixon's downfall imposed on the presidency, Trump has sought to dismantle them. The special counsel found examples of Trump using the power of the presidency to advance his personal political goals and push for criminal inquiries against his enemies. Witnesses detailed nearly a dozen episodes in which Trump tried to limit the scope of the Mueller investigation. And despite Trump's April 26 denial, his former White House counsel Don McGahn testified that Trump had ordered him to fire Mueller.

Now Trump is using the Mueller report itself to expand the power of the chief executive. Claiming that Mueller exonerated him, Trump and his lawyers are refusing to cooperate with most congressional investigations, even though the special counsel seemed to call for them. More ambitiously, Trump is using the report as a weapon against his 2020 political opponents, raising money off the top-line findings and saying he was the target of an illegal coup, in the hope that the inaccurate claim will inflame his voters and drive them to the ballot box.

Some of these moves are intentional, the result of a strategy developed and implemented by the President's lawyers. Some are instinctive—Trump's zero-sum worldview drives him to amass power. Some, the report shows, happen almost by chance. But whatever the reasons, Trump's effort to politicize the Mueller investigation may have worked. Despite its alarming revelations, polls suggest the President's support has not been dented by the special counsel's report.

Trump's Attorney General, William Barr, has played a critical role in shielding the President from the initial blow. Before the document was released to the public, Barr stated



^
Attorney General William Barr is sworn in to testify about the Mueller report before the Senate on May 1

that Mueller's investigation did not establish that Trump had obstructed justice. Mueller had qualms about Barr's handling of the report, and asked Barr on March 27 to release fuller executive summaries from the document. Barr's wording "did not fully capture the context, nature and substance of this Office's work and conclusions," Mueller wrote to the Attorney General. "There is now public confusion about critical aspects of the results of our investigation."

Barr refused, letting his characterization stand for weeks, during which Trump inaccurately claimed "total exoneration," before the public gained access to Mueller's more nuanced findings. "It was my decision how and when to make it public, not Bob Mueller's," Barr told a Senate committee on May 1.

Some professional historians see a worrying picture emerging. "The Mueller report makes a very strong case that Donald Trump is guilty of obstruction of justice," says Ken Hughes, an expert on



Nixon and abuse of presidential power at the University of Virginia's Miller Center. "That has been an impeachable offense in this country since Nixon's time." Which means the stakes in the coming days are much higher than just the fate of congressional investigations or even the 2020 election. They go directly to the balance of power between Congress and the White House, potentially taking us back to a more powerful, pre-Watergate presidency.

ON ITS FACE, the Mueller report is disturbing. It details a massive Russian operation to interfere in the 2016 presidential election and multiple efforts by the Russians to influence the Trump campaign. Mueller did not establish that Trump or his associates knowingly aided

the Russian effort, but his report paints a damning picture of the Trump camp's openness to Russia's advances. Worse, the report lays out a series of alarming, possibly obstructive actions Trump took to prevent investigators from finding out what happened in 2016.

Trump likely fired former FBI director James Comey because of the Russia investigation, then misrepresented why he fired him, Mueller found. Trump tried to pressure former Attorney General Jeff Sessions to limit the scope of Mueller's inquiry, then tried to fire Sessions. The President ordered McGahn to fire Mueller; McGahn went so far as to pack up his office in preparation to quit rather than interfere with Mueller's work. "The President's efforts to influence the investigation were mostly unsuccessful, but that is largely because the persons who surrounded the President declined to carry out orders or accede to his requests," the special counsel wrote.

Mueller felt constrained in how he could respond to the evidence of Trump's potential obstruction. Department of Justice protocol suggests a sitting President cannot be indicted, and Mueller took great care to explain in his report that he had decided to abide by that position. The best Mueller seemed to be able to muster was an argument that Congress could take up the case itself. "The conclusion that Congress may apply obstruction laws to the President's corrupt exercise of the powers of office accords with our constitutional system of checks and balances and the principle that no person is above the law," the report says.

Trump worked hard to get ahead of any challenge Congress might pose by undermining the Mueller report even before it became public. The President set the bar low with his repeated assertions that there had been "no collusion" with Russia, and attacked the credibility of Mueller's investigators. He refused to sit for an interview with Mueller's lawyers, avoiding the risk of perjuring him-

self and making it harder for Mueller's team to prove corrupt intent. And he misrepresented the investigation's ultimate findings, loudly proclaiming the report had concluded there was "no obstruction." So when Barr declared on April 18 that Mueller had found "no evidence" of "collusion" between Trump and Russia and cleared Trump of obstruction, the President claimed vindication.

A White House official dismisses Mueller's evidence of obstruction as "thought crimes," since Trump's aides didn't follow through with his orders and Mueller did not find any coordination with Russia in the first place. "In Watergate, there was actually a crime to obstruct," the official says. White House staff view the report's lengthy section on obstruction as a partisan "swipe" at the President, according to another official. Mueller's team, these officials say, stepped out of bounds when it wrote nearly 200 pages on bad behavior by Trump without charging him with a crime.

Some Democrats cited the document as cause to launch impeachment proceedings. But at the moment, Congress looks no more likely than Mueller to level charges. Trump and his surrogates have taken a hard line with Congress over compliance with their expanding investigations. "We're fighting all the subpoenas," Trump said on April 24. In doing so, he is reviving a fight over presidential power from the Watergate era. In 1974, the Supreme Court ordered President Nixon to comply with a subpoena in a ruling against a near inviolable claim of Executive privilege. "We've never been back to that grand claim, until effectively now," says John Q. Barrett, a law professor at St. John's University.

Trump's lawyers are open to a less absolute approach, White House officials say. And the President is keeping other options at the ready too. Trump's personal lawyers spent months preparing a rebuttal to the report, then never released it. The President and his allies "do not need it yet," says Trump's lawyer Rudy Giuliani. For now, Giuliani says, the report's charges can be "handled one at a time." But they're still prepared to release the rebuttal if they deem it necessary.

The report lays out a series of alarming, possibly obstructive actions Trump took to prevent investigators from finding out what happened in 2016

TRUMPLAND'S RUSSIAN CONNECTIONS

Special counsel **Robert Mueller**'s report documents the Trump 2016 presidential campaign's contacts with Kremlin-linked Russians. Mueller did not find that Trump coordinated with Russian interference in the 2016 election, but he did find Trump's campaign was open to Moscow's help and influence. Here's what Mueller's report and other court documents say.

—Abigail Abrams



TRUMP TOWER MOSCOW

Russian-born business associate Felix Sater pushed plans for a Trump Tower in Moscow, which Trump's lawyer Michael Cohen worked on at Trump's behest through at least June 2016, shortly before Trump secured the Republican nomination.

TRUMP TOWER NEW YORK

That same month, Russians offered material that could "incriminate" Trump's opponent, Hillary Clinton. Donald Trump Jr., Jared Kushner and campaign chairman Paul Manafort met with a Kremlin-connected lawyer at Trump Tower in New York.

GEORGE PAPADOPOULOS

The young Trump adviser spoke with Russians about a meeting between Team Trump and Russian leadership. The Russians also told Papadopoulos they had "dirt" on Clinton.

PAUL MANAFORT Trump's campaign chairman gave campaign polling data to Konstantin Kilimnik, a business associate the U.S. believes has ties to Russian intelligence.

HACKING EMAILS Hours after Trump publicly called for Russia to find Clinton's missing emails, Russian intelligence agents targeted her personal office email accounts.

WIKILEAKS The group was working with Russian hackers and reached out to Trump Jr. to suggest he and his father support it on Twitter.

ROGER STONE The longtime Trump confidant told the campaign he could be a pipeline to WikiLeaks. An indictment against Stone said the campaign sought information from him about the hacked emails.

KISLYAK MEETINGS

Kushner, Jeff Sessions, other aides and Trump himself met with Russian Ambassador Sergey Kislyak during the campaign.

MICHAEL FLYNN Trump's first National Security Adviser talked with Kislyak about Russian sanctions during the presidential transition.

TRAVEL INVITATION Sater told Cohen that Putin's press secretary wanted to meet Cohen in Russia. Cohen agreed to go, then called off the trip in June 2016.

RUSSIAN FRIENDS

Kremlin-connected Russian developer Aras Agalarov and his son Emin contacted Trump multiple times, inviting him to visit Russia and expressing "great interest" in his campaign.

Congressional Republicans seem buoyed by signs that Trump is weathering Mueller's findings. South Carolina Senator Lindsey Graham, who chairs the Senate Judiciary Committee, said the only investigations he will entertain would look into Justice Department overreach in investigating Trump. The Senate GOP is ready to offset any moves by the Democratic-led House to go after Trump.

The defense of the President is not just limited to vocal allies. North Carolina Senator Thom Tillis, a vulnerable Republican facing re-election next year, had frequently introduced bipartisan legislation to protect Mueller during his probe. Now he says he fully supports the President's pushing back against congressional Democrats. "They're trying to re-prosecute something that I helped defend for two years," Tillis says. Even Republican Senator Mitt Romney, who criticized Trump's handling of the Mueller investigation after reading the report, is not pressing for investigations in the Senate or impeachment proceedings. "I

think it's a political matter. And I think the Democrats would be wise to focus on the election," Romney told reporters on April 29.

As the GOP circles the wagons, the Democrats are frustrated by their opponents and divided on how to move forward. Speaker Nancy Pelosi says she's hesitant to proceed with impeachment unless there's some measure of bipartisan support. "The President of the United States engaged in behavior that was unethical, unscrupulous and beneath the dignity of the office that he holds," Pelosi said at the TIME 100 Summit on April 23. "What's surprising about it is that the Republicans seem to have an unlimited appetite for that kind of behavior. Instead of being ashamed of what that report said, they gave their blessing once again to the President."

IF CONGRESS DOESN'T ACT, there remains another check on the President's power: the voters. Unlike the Watergate and Iran-contra scandals, which unfolded in the second terms of Presidents Nixon and Ronald Reagan, the Mueller probe concluded ahead of Trump's attempt to win re-election. Which means the American electorate will have the chance to register their opinion on Trump's behavior at the polls in 2020. It's not clear, however, that the Mueller report has soured the public's view of the President. In a Washington Post/ABC News poll released April 26, 58% of respondents said the report doesn't change their opinion of the Trump Administration and 53% think the report "did not clear Trump of all wrongdoing." Some 36% said the report made them more likely to oppose the President

The President and his top campaign staff say they plan to use the Mueller report as a cudgel against Democrats in 2020

PRESIDENTS, OBSTRUCTION AND THE LAW

Mueller's report outlines conduct by President **Donald Trump** that could constitute obstruction of justice. Mueller declined to say whether Trump's behavior was criminal but said Congress could determine that. Lawmakers based impeachment charges against Presidents Richard Nixon and Bill Clinton on evidence of obstruction of justice. Here's how the three compare.

—Mahita Gajanan



TRUMP

FIRING THE FBI DIRECTOR

In a one-on-one meeting in the Oval Office, Trump asked then FBI Director James Comey to drop an investigation into former National Security Adviser Michael Flynn. Later, at a private dinner, Trump asked Comey for loyalty. He ultimately fired Comey amid the FBI's investigation into Russian election meddling.

LIMITING THE MUELLER PROBE

After Mueller took over the probe, Trump asked his former campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, to tell then Attorney General Jeff Sessions to curtail the special counsel's investigation. The message was never delivered to Sessions. Trump also called on Sessions to resign but then backed down.

TARGETING THE SPECIAL COUNSEL

Trump twice called White House counsel Don McGahn at home, directing him to fire Mueller, a request that McGahn did not comply with. Trump later asked McGahn to deny reports about the requests and create a paper trail to back up the denial.

NIXON

IMPEDING THE WATERGATE INVESTIGATION

Nixon tried to get the CIA to stop the FBI from investigating the Watergate break-in. The so-called smoking gun all but ended his presidency.

Nixon fired Watergate special prosecutor Archibald Cox as part of the so-called Saturday Night Massacre.

Lawmakers probed whether the erasure of 18½ minutes of the President's recorded conversations about Watergate with chief of staff H.R. Haldeman was an attempt to alter or destroy evidence.

CLINTON

IMPEDING THE PAULA JONES LAWSUIT

Clinton lied to many of his aides about the nature of his relationship with Monica Lewinsky, knowing they might be called before a grand jury.

Clinton attempted to hide his affair with Lewinsky by suggesting she hide gifts he had given her, and encouraging her to file a false affidavit and give false testimony if she was called as a witness. Lawmakers probed whether these actions were attempts to thwart the investigation into his behavior.

in 2020. Mueller spent two years on his investigation and wrote more than 400 pages on his findings. But the ultimate arbiters of Trump's behavior—the voters—appear largely unmoved by his conclusions.

Which means Mueller's report may end up helping Trump expand his power rather than curtailing it. The President and his top campaign staff say they plan to use the Mueller report as a cudgel against Democrats in 2020. The report "creates a massive credibility problem for the left, one that is fair to say we will be using," says Trump's 2020 national press secretary Kayleigh McEnany, sitting high above the Potomac River in the campaign's spacious Virginia headquarters. The Trump campaign sent out a fundraising text when the Mueller report came out, raising more than \$1 million in one day. "Sorry Trump haters. The biggest waste of money witch hunt in history is finally over," the website announcing the fundraising haul reads. "The attacks and lies will keep coming heading into 2020. That's why we need to fight back bigger

and stronger than ever before."

Trump isn't the first President to look for ways to expand Executive power. After the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, George W. Bush clawed back some of the wartime authorities Congress had stripped from the presidency following the politically motivated Vietnam War escalations. Barack Obama, facing an entrenched Republican Congress, embraced the use of regulations and Executive Orders to expand health care and immigration protections.

But Trump's moves are the most self-serving since Nixon, says Timothy Naftali, a former director of the Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum. And the 45th President has learned a noteworthy lesson from the 37th. Nixon famously worked the levers of power, pushing for IRS audits, wiretapping and cutting off federal funds to punish political enemies. But for the most part, he made these moves in secret. Trump is brashly pulling those levers in public. He has called for the investigation of career FBI agents, demanded that the Federal Reserve chair-

man keep interest rates low and promised to release people caught entering the U.S. illegally into cities he sees as too lax in their treatment of immigrants. Where the revelation of Nixon's behavior hurt him, Trump's open expansion of power seems to help.

"Our culture has forgotten why these norms were established in the first place," says Naftali. "We will see if Donald Trump will be penalized in 2020 for trying to restore some of the Nixonian spirit to the Executive Branch."

Trump is willing to have that fight. On April 25, he railed against the Mueller investigation to Fox News host Sean Hannity. "This was an overthrow, and it's a disgraceful thing," the President said. "It's far bigger than Watergate. I think it's possibly the biggest scandal in political history in this country." For Trump's critics, however, the President is not the victim of a Nixon-era abuse of power. He's the man resurrecting the tradition. —With reporting by ALANA ABRAMSON and PHILIP ELLIOTT/WASHINGTON



The New Guy

*How
Pete Buttigieg
became a
surprise
contender in
the 2020
Democratic
primary*

BY CHARLOTTE ALTER/SOUTH BEND

PHOTOGRAPH BY RYAN PFLUGER FOR TIME





As

AS PETE BUTTIGIEG ADDRESSED SUPPORTERS off a back porch in Marshalltown, Iowa, the Devil was whispering his name. “Pete,” the Devil hissed into a microphone. “You’re sooo smart, Pete.”

Buttigieg ignored the heckler, plowing forward with his stump speech about American decency as his husband Chasten looked on. “Pete,” the Devil whispered. “I want the heartland, Pete.”

The man in the devil costume was Randall Terry, an antiabortion activist. He had traveled to Iowa to torment the 37-year-old mayor of South Bend, Ind., the early breakout star of the 2020 Democratic presidential primary. “There’s never been a poster boy for homosexuals” before, Terry says. “There’s never been a homosexual that you’d go, ‘Wow, I’d be proud of him.’ He’s

the guy. That’s why he’s such a threat.”

Four years after the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed his right to marry, Buttigieg has become the first openly gay person to make a serious bid for the presidency. And Terry is hardly the only right-winger worried about the rise of “Mayor Pete.” Buttigieg’s saying that “God doesn’t have a political party” prompted evangelical leader Franklin Graham to tweet that being gay is “something to be repentant of, not something to be flaunted, praised or politicized.” Concerned by the campaign’s rise, right-wing provocateur Jacob Wohl was recently caught trying to fabricate sexual-assault allegations against Buttigieg to slow him down.

But to some Americans, Buttigieg may just be the man to vanquish America’s demons. In a field of more than 20 candidates—including six Senators, four Congressmen, two governors and a former Vice President—Buttigieg (pronounced *Boot-edge-edge*) has vaulted from near total obscurity toward the front of the Democratic pack, running ahead of or even with more established

candidates and behind only Joe Biden and Bernie Sanders.

Buttigieg is a gay Episcopalian veteran in a party torn between identity politics and heartland appeals. He’s also a fresh face in a year when millennials are poised to become the largest eligible voting bloc. Many Democrats are hungry for generational change, and the two front runners are more than twice his age.

But Buttigieg’s greatest political asset may be his ear for languages. He speaks eight, including Norwegian and Arabic, but he’s particularly fluent in the dialect of the neglected industrial Midwest. Buttigieg is a master of redefinition, a translator for a party that has found it increasingly difficult to speak to the voters who elected President Donald Trump. The son of an English professor and a scholar of linguistics, he roots his campaign in an effort to reframe progressive ideas in conservative language. “If the substance of your ideas is progressive but there’s mistrust about them among conservatives, you have three choices,” Buttigieg tells TIME, sitting on his living-room couch



^
*Supporters at Buttigieg's rainy
April 14 presidential campaign
announcement in South Bend*

in South Bend. “One is to just change your ideas and make them more conservative. The second is to sort of be sneaky and try to make it seem like your ideas are more conservative than they are. And the third, the approach that I favor, is to stick to your ideas, but explain why conservatives shouldn’t be afraid of them.”

His platform is “Freedom, Security and Democracy,” which wouldn’t sound out of place coming from a Bush-era Republican yet actually harks back to Franklin Delano Roosevelt. But in order to maintain his momentum, Buttigieg will have to do more to flesh out those ideas. Unlike many of his opponents, he hasn’t posted any detailed policy proposals on his website. He’ll also have to convince Democratic voters that his experience running South Bend (pop. 102,245) is adequate preparation for running the world’s most powerful country. And he’ll have to make inroads with black and Hispanic voters who have so far appeared unimpressed with his campaign.

Buttigieg likes to say he has more government experience than Trump, and more military experience than any

President in 25 years. And Trump’s victory in 2016 proved that many Americans were willing to elect a President without a traditional Washington résumé. But some voters long for stability after three years of chaos, and it’s not clear whether the Trump presidency has made it easier or harder for outsiders.

The same assets that have propelled Buttigieg so far could ultimately thwart his rise. His youth is appealing to many voters, but it also means he’s green. The idea of electing the first gay President thrills liberals, but it also rallies opponents. As a white man, Buttigieg may appeal to more traditional voters, yet women and voters of color are the heart of the Democratic coalition. He’s running as a healer, not a fighter, at a moment when the party seems to be in a fighting mood. “As a woman of color, it’s very difficult for me to hear ‘We can unite across our

differences,’” says Democratic operative Jess Morales Rocketto. “On one side you have people who want to live in a white-supremacist country, and on the other side you have people dying at the hands of white supremacists.”

In many ways, Buttigieg is Trump’s polar opposite: younger, dorkier, shorter, calmer and married to a man. His success may depend on whether Democrats want a fighter to match Trump, or whether Americans want to “change the channel,” as Buttigieg puts it. “People already have a leader who screams and yells,” he says. “How do you think that’s working out for us?”

ON A SUNNY MONDAY MORNING, Buttigieg is musing about redeeming American credibility abroad, sipping from his coffee mug emblazoned with JFK’s face, when his husband plops onto the living-room couch, picks up the blanket next to him and throws it on the floor in mock disgust. “Do we have to have this hideous blanket?” he said. The blanket is full of dog hair. “Can we put our nice blanket there?”

The hair comes from Truman, their hound mix, and Buddy, their tubby rescue puppy. When I first met Buttigieg in 2017, he told me he named Truman after a famous saying often attributed to the 33rd President: “If you want a friend in Washington, get a dog.”

But you live in South Bend, I said. When are you planning on moving to Washington? He didn’t reply.

The house looks like it’s occupied by moderately tidy people who travel a lot. Coats are piled on the bannister, and old sneakers and a pair of Crocs are lined up next to the kitchen door. A tiny photo of Pete and Chasten with Cher peeks out from behind wedding save-the-dates posted on the fridge. The kitchen walls are a too-bright yellow. The mayor painted them himself, which he says was a mistake.

Buttigieg met Chasten Glezman, then a Chicago grad student, on the dating app Hinge in 2015. They talked over FaceTime for a few weeks before Chasten drove to South Bend for their first real date, at an Irish bar famous for its Scotch eggs. Less than three years later, Pete proposed in gate B5 of Chicago’s O’Hare airport, the exact spot where Chasten had first noticed his dating profile.

Their marriage is at once banal and extraordinary, infused with the exuberant contentment of two people who once thought they would always be alone. Chasten handles the dogs, the shopping, the cooking. Pete does the dishes, laundry and garbage. Chasten hates taking the bin out to the curb. Pete hates the way Chasten folds T-shirts. Chasten gets grumpy when they go too long without food, and Pete doesn’t get it. “You’re like, ‘Oh, here, I packed a bag of almonds and a thing of beef jerky,’” Chasten says. “I hate nuts, and he eats nuts all the time.”

“High in protein, good for you,” Pete counters.

“See!” Chasten says. “I want a meal, and he’s like, ‘We’ll just have a handful of nuts.’” Also, he tells his husband, “You do chew really loudly.”

Both men grew up closeted in conservative Midwestern communities. “Being gay was not culturally acceptable where I grew up, mostly for a lack of understanding,” Chasten says. “And so my family and I were just at a crossroads, and we didn’t really know how to talk to one another.” When he came out after his senior year

MEET PETE

The 37-year-old mayor is running on a message of generational change



c. 2000

Buttigieg playing Nintendo with his late father Joseph at home in South Bend



2000

Buttigieg with Caroline Kennedy after his high school essay on Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders won the JFK Profiles in Courage contest



of high school, tensions at home forced him to spend months crashing on friends’ couches and sleeping in his car. His parents ultimately changed their minds, welcomed him back home and now fully support their son and his marriage.

Pete took a lot longer to come to terms with himself. As a child, “he was an observer,” recalls his mother Anne Montgomery. “Each time he went to a new school, he’d sit there and watch who was doing what and why.” In high school, he was elected senior class president and played Theseus in a production of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, the voice of sanity and order in a world gone mad. He won the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library’s Profiles in Courage contest for an admiring essay about Bernie Sanders—20 years before challenging the Vermont Senator for the Democratic nomination.

‘People already have a leader who screams and yells,’ Buttigieg says. ‘How do you think that’s working out for us?’

Alone with the knowledge that he was, as he put it, “really strongly attracted to other young men,” he threw himself into his studies, teaching himself languages and musical instruments and reading James Joyce. One Harvard roommate recalled he had learned circular breathing in order to hold a note on the didgeridoo. He lived with a handful of guys in a suite nicknamed the Château because of its fancy moldings and exposed brick walls. He was the roommate who would sip whiskey instead of chugging beer, and insist on a real Christmas tree in the dorm room. He dated women occasionally but never joined his roommates’ discussions of their sex lives.

After graduation, Buttigieg went to Oxford on a Rhodes scholarship, then did a brief stint at the consulting firm McKinsey, analyzing grocery-store pricing. He moved back to Indiana and joined the U.S. Navy Reserve in 2009, before the repeal of “Don’t ask, don’t tell.” He remembers his fellow officers tossing the word gay around as an insult, the way middle schoolers once did.

In 2010, at the age of 28, he ran his first political campaign, for Indiana state treasurer, and got crushed, losing by 27 points. But the following year, Buttigieg ran for mayor of South Bend and won. He was professionally ascendant but personally adrift: friends were starting to meet serious girlfriends, get married, have



2007

After Harvard, he went to Oxford on a Rhodes scholarship



2014

Lieutenant Buttigieg with his parents Joseph and Anne when he returned to South Bend after six months in Afghanistan



2015

Mayor Buttigieg playing piano with Ben Folds and the South Bend Symphony Orchestra



2018

Pete Buttigieg and Chasten Glezman on their wedding day; they met shortly after Buttigieg came out in 2015

kids, and Pete's personal life amounted to watching *The Simpsons* alone with a beer after work. He was deployed to Afghanistan in 2014, halfway through his first term as mayor. When he came back six months later, he says, he realized that if he had died overseas, he would have never known what it was like to be in love.

In 2015, just as Buttigieg was beginning to come out privately to friends and family members, Indiana's then Governor Mike Pence signed the Religious Freedom Restoration Act, which allowed local businesses to discriminate against LGBTQ people. Later that year, at the height of his re-election campaign, Buttigieg wrote an op-ed in the South Bend *Tribune* to announce he was gay. It was more of a personal calculation than a political one, he says: given his job, he couldn't openly date until his constituents knew the truth. He feared it would cost him re-election, but he won with 80% of the vote.

It was a sign of how rapidly public opinion on LGBTQ issues has changed. In 1996, only 27% of Americans supported same-sex marriage; today 67% do, including 44% of Republicans. Some of Buttigieg's fellow officers who had used *gay* as an epithet in his presence reached out to express their support. "I bet some of them still go back and tell gay jokes because that's their habit, you know?" he says. "Bad habits and bad instincts is not

the same as people being bad people."

All this informs his belief that it's still possible to reach across America's political divide. "We've got to get away from this kill-switch mentality that we see on Twitter," he says. He has seen once disapproving parents dance at their gay son's wedding and homophobic military officers take back their words, and so he believes in the power of redemption and forgiveness. "This idea that we just sort people into baskets of good and evil ignores the central fact of human existence, which is that each of us is a basket of good and evil," he says. "The job of politics is to summon the good and beat back the evil."

FOR THE MAYOR of a place like South Bend, politics gets a little more complicated. When Buttigieg was elected in 2011, his mandate was to turn around a dying city. South Bend had been in decline since 1963, when the Studebaker auto company left, taking thousands of jobs with it. Buttigieg got to work. He made downtown more walkable, improved infrastructure for filling potholes and plowing snow, and brought new companies to South Bend through partnerships with Notre Dame. "Mayors in the past had kind of a can't-do attitude," says veteran South Bend *Tribune* columnist Jack Colwell. "When people came to talk to Pete, he'd

say, 'How can we help you get this done?'"

In interviews with local residents, nearly all said Buttigieg had done a generally good job as mayor, though some said he had blind spots on issues affecting black and Hispanic residents. Early in his tenure, Buttigieg fired a popular black police chief who was under FBI investigation for wiretapping white officers who had been suspected of using racist language. And while most residents say the city improved under his leadership, the gains have not been evenly distributed. South Bend still has a persistent racial wealth gap: black households earn roughly half of what white households make, and the black poverty rate is almost twice the national average, according to a 2017 Prosperity Now report commissioned by Buttigieg's office. Dedrick Asante-Muhammad, the researcher who compiled the report, said Buttigieg was the first mayor of any city to ask him to do this. "He didn't solve racial economic inequality," says Asante-Muhammad, "but what city has?"

One of Buttigieg's main goals was to improve the city's housing stock. South Bend had a glut of abandoned homes left over from the Studebaker heyday, and Buttigieg announced a plan to either tear down or fix up 1,000 in 1,000 days. Almost immediately, black residents expressed concern. Most of the vacant homes were

in black and Hispanic neighborhoods on the town's West Side. While no families reported being evicted because of the policy, some locals had bought or inherited vacant homes intending to fix them up, then faced heavy code-enforcement fines or even lost the properties they had purchased. Regina Williams-Preston, a teacher whose family has lived on South Bend's West Side for years, had purchased several abandoned homes in order to renovate them later, but says she lost them to Buttigieg's policy after her husband got sick and they couldn't make the repairs.

In the wake of Buttigieg's campaign boom, Williams-Preston has been escorting national reporters around South Bend, pointing out the areas where his housing policy failed. "He was young and bright and had a lot of really good ideas," she says, driving through neighborhoods with rundown houses next to overgrown lots. "But he didn't have the lived experience, the ability to really connect with real people who have real issues and real problems that life hasn't dealt the best hand."

Other black leaders in South Bend say Buttigieg listened to the concerns of the community and adjusted when he was wrong. "I trust him," says Stacey Odom, founder of a local organization that helps families on the West Side repair their homes. "I asked him for five different things, and he gave them all to me." Buttigieg created an office of Engagement and Economic Empowerment to help address the wealth gap, and issued an executive order on diversity and inclusion in response to local demands, Williams-Preston said. When local leaders asked for \$3.5 million to renovate the Charles Black community center, Buttigieg came up with \$4.5 million, according to Cynthia Taylor, the center's director. "You're gonna have to invite him in, you're gonna have to sit him down, you're gonna have to show him the issue," she says. "Because he definitely will listen."

Williams-Preston, who's now running to replace Buttigieg as mayor, says he sometimes seemed insufficiently angry about the inequities in South Bend. She's looking for a President who has "a deep passion for justice, a deep drive for equality." She voted for Sanders in 2016 and describes herself as a "Berniecrat." But as she drives her minivan around the West Side, pointing out grassy areas where

vacant houses once stood, she's wearing a PETE button on her jacket.

Buttigieg may be a loyal son of South Bend, but he keeps angling for a job transfer out of town. In 2017 he ran for chair of the Democratic National Committee. After he lost, he asked his old friend Mike Schmuhl to move back to South Bend to help him run his political-action committee. He never actually told him he was planning to run for President. "It was unspoken," Schmuhl says.

THERE ARE TWO MAIN TYPES of presidential candidates: those who run on policy and those who run on personality. Buttigieg says he's a "policy guy," but he's definitely a personality guy. His campaign is more about who he is (young, gay, Midwestern, technocratic) and what he represents (social progress, generational change, an olive branch to "flyover country") than what he'll do if he's President.

So far Buttigieg has embraced a few big ideas, such as abolishing the Electoral College and expanding the Supreme Court. (Both would require an improbable constitutional amendment.) But when it comes to the policy issues dominating the primary so far, he has staked out only general positions. On health care, he favors "Medicare for all who want it." He supports an "intergenerational alliance" to fight climate change and calls the Green New Deal "the right beginning." He said he wants to "do some math" around Senator Elizabeth Warren's plan to make college free and forgive student debt. Warren, for her part, has 11 policy proposals on her website. Buttigieg has zero.

"Every good policy that I've developed in my administration happened not because I cooked it up on the campaign, kept the promise intact and then delivered it," he says, "but because I stated a priority in one of my campaigns,

Buttigieg's campaign is more about who he is and what he represents than what he'll do if he's President

interacted with my legislative body and my community, and developed something that really served people well."

Does this mean that he thinks policy is less important than narrative? "Maybe I'm saying the narrative is policy," he responds, in a typical attempt at reframing. "Narrative is how you get people to embrace the policies you're putting forward." His campaign plans to release more detailed policies this week.

"Running a campaign based on narrative has long been a privilege reserved for men. And Buttigieg's maleness and whiteness has undoubtedly benefited him, even as women and people of color become increasingly central to the Democrats' 2020 coalition. He knows this and acknowledges that "it's hard for me to even be able to see some of the ways in which whiteness or maleness may have made my life go differently," adding that it has likely affected the way he's been covered by the national media.

At the same time, Buttigieg's sexuality has imbued his campaign with a sense of historical promise. After the valedictorian at Brigham Young University, a conservative Mormon school, came out as gay in his commencement speech in April, he cited Buttigieg as his inspiration. ("I know that kid is going to make it easier for somebody else," Buttigieg told BuzzFeed News.) Buttigieg's campaign has also gotten a boost from a network of wealthy LGBT donors.

The millennial mayor's call for generational change could also prove to be a powerful one. Even as young voters stay enamored with Sanders, older voters seem attracted to Buttigieg's youth: according to an April 29 Morning Consult survey, his highest polling numbers come from baby boomers. "I like the idea of a millennial," says Alice Mayer, 62, who voted for Sanders in 2016, as she waited for Buttigieg's speech in South Bend. "He's looking at the future, while Bernie's been there, done that."

Buttigieg has spent years thinking about how Democrats can reclaim the language of patriotism from Republicans. "The real challenge for the Democratic Party, and its presidential candidates in particular," he wrote in a 2003 column in the *Harvard Crimson*, "is to figure out how to reverse the Right's stranglehold on our political vocabulary." Soon after, he wrote another column urging Democrats



to reclaim words like *compassion*, *strength* and *morality*, arguing that “establishing a new vocabulary is not the point; we need to take the old vocabulary and make it make sense again.” More than any health care plan or climate-change policy, Buttigieg wants to change how Democrats talk. “The landscape can be moved,” he says. “But to move it, I don’t think you just run in and beat people over the head with your way of talking about your ideas the way you always have.”

WHEN BUTTIGIEG ANNOUNCED his exploratory committee in January, in a drab conference room at a Washington Hyatt, his staff was mostly just Schmuhl, his high school buddy turned campaign manager, and Lis Smith, a New York operative who helped Buttigieg run his long-shot campaign for DNC chair. Three months later, the staff has swelled to nearly 50 as

Chasten and Pete Buttigieg on the front steps of their South Bend home

Buttigieg bounces between rallies in Iowa and New Hampshire, fundraisers with bundlers and TV appearances everywhere.

Buttigieg has been ubiquitous by design. The campaign’s goal is to “break down the wall that exists between presidential candidates and the media, and therefore the public,” Smith says. The Buttigieg campaign has no digital department, according to Schmuhl, because it weaves digital media into everything it does. Instead, the campaign has an “experience team,” which focuses on everything from events to content. The campaign shared its logos and designs in catchy Instagrammable images, complete with a color palette so that fans can spread the Buttigieg brand

on social media. It’s also rethinking the value of paid television advertisements, reasoning that most millennials watch TV through streaming services on their computers and phones.

Despite these new strategies, some of the old truths still hold. It remains almost impossible to win the Democratic nomination without significant support from black voters, and the Morning Consult poll found negligible black support for Buttigieg. The mayor is working on his outreach, eating lunch with the Rev. Al Sharpton at the famous Harlem soul-food joint Sylvia’s and scheduling a swing through South Carolina for early May. But winning voters of color may be difficult for a white guy running against two black Senators, Kamala Harris and Cory Booker, as well as Joe Biden, who served as Barack Obama’s running mate and has long-standing relationships in black communities.

In a primary divided between candidates who want to fight Trump and candidates who talk about uniting the country, Buttigieg is in the latter camp. That puts him out of step with the party’s activist base, who clearly want a fighter. Warren, for example, used the word *fight* 25 times in her announcement speech; Buttigieg didn’t mention it once. His husband says he’s never heard him raise his voice in anger. “We’ve almost fetishized fighting,” Buttigieg explains, sitting in his living room between an antique British musket and an old Soviet spying device, both relics of old and painful wars. “There is a point where you become so absorbed in fighting that you begin to lose track of winning.”

In the end, Buttigieg’s biggest gamble is his bet that voters are sick of a divided America and hungry for reconciliation. He believes independents and moderate conservatives could get behind a happily married Christian veteran. And he may be right. “Pete has a way of rallying people and getting them to come along with him,” says Jake Teshka, former executive director of the St. Joseph County GOP and the only Republican on the South Bend city council. “That’s what makes him dangerous as a candidate for the rest of the Democratic field. I can’t sit here and tell you that if he makes it through and he’s on the ballot in 2020 that I would vote for Pete. But I also can’t tell you that I won’t.”

*The informal
settlement of Imizamo
Yethu overlooks Hout
Bay, a picturesque
suburb of Cape Town*





World **SOUTH AFRICA'S DIVIDING LINE**

Twenty-five years after Nelson Mandela was first elected, the country remains two unequal nations

BY ARYN BAKER/CAPE TOWN

EVEN FOR THE WESTERN CAPE, A PROVINCE KNOWN for its stunning vistas, the view from the settlement of Imizamo Yethu is extraordinary. A panorama of rolling hills, sand dunes and stone cliffs unfurls to the sea. To one side is a fishing village that has gentrified into quaint cafés and handicraft shops; on the other are stately mansions, horse paddocks and the expansive campus of a prestigious private school.

The view of Imizamo Yethu from the suburb below, Hout Bay, is also extraordinary, if for different reasons. This ramshackle settlement clinging to a rock escarpment is made up of small brick houses, corrugated-aluminum shacks and lean-tos constructed from old shipping pallets. The few paved roads intersect with a network of mud paths that reek of raw sewage in the summer heat, and flood under winter rains. More than 6,000 black families live in this area, which is about the size of a suburban

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SARAH NANKIN FOR TIME



▲
Bantry Bay,
another
affluent
suburb of
Cape Town,
has some
of the most
expensive
real estate in
Africa

American shopping mall. Hout Bay, which is about 50 times larger and mostly white, has roughly the same number of residents. Violence in Imizamo Yethu is rife; in April, five people were killed in a shoot-out between rival transport cartels that run the minibus networks linking the settlement to central Cape Town, 12 miles away.

A few days after the minibus shootings, Kenny Tokwe, a community organizer who has been living in Imizamo Yethu for nearly 30 years, looks down on Hout Bay's idyllic expanse. It's been 25 years since South Africa's first multiracial democratic elections, held on April 27, 1994, were supposed to bring an end to the institutionalized racial segregation of the apartheid regime. But little has changed, says Tokwe. "South Africa is still a country of two nations: the rich whites"—he points down the hill—"and the poor blacks." With a chuckle, he points at himself, an educated black man who spent his youth campaigning for equal rights for South African blacks only to find himself, at 58, fighting for them to have basic standards of living.

On May 8, South Africans are due to vote in the sixth national elections since the fall of apartheid. The African National Congress (ANC), the liberation party once led by Nelson Mandela that has ruled South Africa since 1994, is expected to return to power. But a quarter-century after Mandela called for the state to be fundamentally reshaped to address

the inequalities of apartheid, the world's most egregious racial divide has turned into its most extreme economic disparity. The World Bank last year deemed South Africa the world's most unequal society, estimating that the top 10% owned 70% of the nation's assets in 2015. And the split is still largely along racial lines; the bottom 60%, largely comprising blacks—which, for the purposes of this story, includes mixed-race people and Asians descended from an era of slavery and colonial rule—controls 7% of the country's net wealth. Half the population lives on less than \$5 a day.

For the past several decades, inequality has been on the rise in developed and developing countries alike. But in an age of widening divides between rich and poor, South Africa stands out because of its squandered hopes. Mandela's rainbow nation was supposed to show the world how a new, equitable society could be built out of the ashes of repression and racism. But by some measures, inequality in the country today is worse than it was under apartheid.

Though a new black middle class is slowly developing, and a small black elite has accrued massive wealth, few black South Africans have seen substantial change in their material lives. Meanwhile, today's white minority, some 9% of the population, lives off the benefits accumulated under apartheid's unequal policies. Their relative wealth keeps them insulated from government failures triggered by the



economics of segregation. “Democracy gave us nothing,” complains Wendy Gqirana, a 36-year-old unemployed chef who has spent her entire life sharing a shipping container with her extended family in the Cape Town township of Langa. “They told us in ’94 that the blacks would be in control and things would be better. All we see now is corruption among the black leaders, and whites are still in control of the economy.”

THE SOURCE of the inequality that plagues South Africa is multifaceted. Unemployment, poor education programs and a collapsing public health system all play a role. But the largest dividing line is land, where the legacy of apartheid meets the failures and broken promises of the current government. It’s manifested most plainly in the lack of affordable housing, particularly in urban areas. The number of decaying slums like Imizamo Yethu has gone from 300 in 1994 to 2,700 today.

Nowhere is this more obvious than in Cape Town, where 60% of the population, almost all black, lives in townships and informal settlements far from the city center. There, government services are limited, schools and health care are underfunded, insecurity is rife, and jobs almost nonexistent. Transport into the center is expensive, dangerous and unreliable.

In an almost exact replica of apartheid-era urban planning, wealthy and middle-class whites are

concentrated in the city center and in well-connected suburbs. Between the townships and the well-appointed central business district are vast tracts of unused land that, if developed correctly, could work to reverse the city’s apartheid legacy by providing affordable urban housing and breaking up racial segregation. However, as is often the case when it comes to public land, history, politics, funding, government incompetence and prejudice are getting in the way.

Just a few weeks before the elections, Susan Lewis takes a walk through one of those bare patches of land. It has been turned into a temporary parking lot, taking advantage of its close proximity to Cape Town’s bustling city center. “All of this used to be houses,” says the slight, energetic 76-year-old, taking in the area with a sweep of her hand. “That is where my friends lived,” she adds, jabbing a finger at a now empty street corner. She points out the vanished movie theater, tailor shop, grocery store and halal butcher. “This is where we all used to live,” she says, “and now it is nothing but a parking lot.”

In 1966, Lewis’ District Six neighborhood, home to a 60,000-strong multiethnic and multireligious community, was declared “whites only” by the apartheid regime. Black residents like Lewis resisted, but by 1982 most of the buildings had been demolished and the inhabitants forcibly relocated to townships in the Cape Flats, a desolate patch of land 18 miles away. Uprooted from their communities, their

▲
The number of informal slums, like Imizamo Yethu, is nine times higher today than in 1994

churches, their schools and their jobs, many never recovered. Sociologists attribute much of today's township gangsterism, poverty, drug abuse and violence to the trauma of those forced relocations. "We felt so isolated," remembers Lewis, who suddenly found herself spending half her salary just to get to work. Schools in the township, if they existed at all, did little to prepare students for employment. Families split up.

The apartheid government never did rebuild District Six into a white neighborhood—by then international sanctions introduced in 1986 were taking their toll—and for the past several decades, much of the area has remained empty, a 150-acre reminder of the apartheid past torn out of the very heart of the city.

Although former residents have a right to return, under a 1994 law that promises restitution to the millions of people subjected to similar apartheid-era relocations, progress has been glacial. So far, only 139 homes have been rebuilt for former residents of District Six. Lewis was one of the lucky ones. After nine years on a waiting list, she was one of the first to move back, in 2005. She feels guilty at times, and rarely tells other former residents she meets at commemoration events. Construction on a 300-unit project was launched in 2013 but has barely progressed. Lewis peers through the chain-link fence at a pile of concrete slabs. It's a midweek afternoon, but there is only one worker to be seen. Construction was supposed to be completed in 2015 but has been repeatedly delayed. "It's crazy," says Lewis, waving at the fields around her. "All of this should be housing by now. We all need to be back where we belong."

The slow pace of development can be blamed on many factors: a lengthy claims process, disputed ownership, a lack of funding and political infighting. But time is running out. Like Lewis, most of the original claimants are elderly. She wonders how many will get a chance to return before it's too late. Once, the destruction of District Six symbolized the evils of the apartheid regime. Its reconstruction and repopulation should have been the ultimate rejoinder. Instead, the empty land is just another reminder of liberation's empty promises. Private developers have begun to nibble on the edges of this neighborhood, but with starting prices for a one-bedroom condominium in the \$100,000 range, properties are out of reach for the city's working-class population. "None of us would ever be able to afford that," says Lewis. "Before, it was the apartheid government that pushed us out of the city. Now it's the cost."

THE DISENFRANCHISEMENT of South Africa's black population dates back to the colonial era, but it was consolidated in 1948 when the national government instituted a legal policy of "apartness" or separation of races. Under apartheid, the country's majority-black inhabitants were stripped of their land, denied

a voice and forcibly relocated to specially designated developments divided by race. Homeownership by blacks under the new system was all but impossible. Equal rights may have been the rallying cry of the ANC as it fought the national government from exile, but for many South African blacks, it was the promise of reclaiming lost land that kept them motivated.

In 1991, shortly after the ANC was allowed to return to South Africa, then party Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa, now the nation's President, worked on a new constitution that sought to reverse the apartheid-era depredations by guaranteeing the right of access to adequate housing for all. As the 1994 elections approached, the ruling ANC expanded on that pledge by promising subsidized houses for the poor. The goal was to counter the apartheid-era dispossessions with the benefits of homeownership.

But these public-housing projects are being built on the urban periphery, replicating the township system developed under apartheid to keep black, working-class citizens isolated from the city's economic engine. "Cape Town is still an apartheid city," says Sizwe Citelo, a security guard who spends a third of his salary on the three-hour commute from his township home to his job in town. "The apartheid government took all the good land from us. Now they are gone, but we can't come back because it's too expensive."

In Cape Town, there are trains that connect the city to the townships, but they are unreliable, inconvenient and expensive. A daily commute costs about \$3 when typical service-sector jobs pay as little as \$10 a day. Because the township schools are often bad—78% of fourth-graders nationally cannot read a simple sentence—families prefer to send their kids to better schools in town, incurring further costs. "Even with a job, it's almost impossible to pull yourself out of poverty when you live in these conditions," says Axolile Notywala, general secretary of the Social Justice Coalition, a civil-society organization that works on poverty alleviation and housing rights. "Unless we fix the urban land issue, we will never be able to address the inequality in our societies."

The issue of land, and who has a right to it, has become a hot topic in the election. The Economic Freedom Fighters, a black nationalist group with a substantial representation in Parliament, has demanded the expropriation without compensation of land owned by white freeholders. The ANC, in response, adopted a more muted pledge to change the constitution to allow for the expropriation of farmland without compensation. The move has alarmed South Africa's business community as well as international investors who remember all too well the food shortages, civil unrest and economic collapse when neighboring Zimbabwe enacted similar policies two decades ago. Even U.S. President Donald Trump has weighed in, tweeting about



“land and farm seizures” from white South African farmers that haven’t happened.

The demand to expropriate white-owned farmland misses the point, says Jared Rossouw, co-director of Ndifuna Ukwazi, a Cape Town–based housing-rights organization. Reform is needed most in the urban areas where more than 70% of South Africa’s population is forecast to live by 2030, he says. “We need to build dense, we need to build tall, and we need mixed populations. We want to build vibrant communities, not slums and ghettos.” Cape Town has many opportunities for progressive urban planning, he says, but politics and greed are getting in the way.

Rossouw pulls up a map of Cape Town on his computer and points out several government-owned plots of land that are currently underutilized, from old train shunting yards to decommissioned public hospitals. The properties belong to a tangle of state and federal ministries and state-owned enterprises that can hold the land or sell it to private developers in order to raise funds. Even though technically the land belongs to the people, the public has no access to it, says Rossouw. “It’s not necessary to expropriate private land. What we really need is legislation that fundamentally transforms how the state can expropriate land from its own holdings.”

^
An old
nurses’
dormitory in
Cape Town
is now under
occupation
by activists
seeking
affordable
urban
housing

EVEN WHEN IT DOES, the results aren’t always impressive. In 2017, the city of Cape Town committed to developing 11 low-cost housing projects around the inner city. Two years later, the plans have yet to be finalized. Part of the problem, says Nathan Adriaanse, spokesperson for the department of human settlements for the Western Cape government, is a scourge familiar to public-housing advocates in urban areas the world over: private-property owners whom he calls NIMBYs, for “not in my backyard.” It’s ironic, he points out, that residents of Hout Bay are willing to tolerate the informal settlement creeping up the mountainside but have rejected proposals to expand and formalize the Imizamo Yethu slum so that residents can access dignified housing. “Everyone says affordable housing can happen, should happen, as long as it doesn’t happen in my neighborhood,” says Adriaanse. “It’s hard to see where the racism ends and the classism starts.”

Some activists have taken matters into their own hands. When the city government decided, in 2016, to sell the grounds of an old public school to private developers instead of turning it into public housing, activists joined forces to stop the sale. The case is still in litigation, but a core group of those activists has since coalesced into a movement dedicated to turning unused city property into housing by dint of occupation. Taking advantage of a law that says citizens cannot be evicted unless a suitable alternative is found, the “Reclaim the City” group has moved some 1,200 people into a decommissioned hospital and an abandoned nurses’ residence.

Founding member Elizabeth Gqoboka, 50, has been living in a second-floor apartment in the old nurses’ home for nearly three years. She has privacy and a view over the city’s waterfront, but it’s hardly paradise. The electricity has been cut off, and there is only one working water tap, on the ground floor. Still, she says, living there is worth the hardship. “We are making a stand. If the government really believes in reversing the injustices of the past, it must be willing to work harder to reverse the spatial apartheid that is its legacy.”

But affordable housing in the city isn’t just about finding a domestic helper like Gqoboka a place to live near her work. It’s about undoing the deeper damages of apartheid, the sense that the country’s black population was somehow less deserving of the nation’s riches. It’s been 25 years, says Gqoboka, but she can’t shake the persistent feeling that she isn’t welcome in the city. She is tired of the fact that whenever she walks down a residential street in Cape Town, people assume she is there either to clean houses or to steal from them. “It’s like we are good enough to take care of white people’s children, but we aren’t good enough to live next door to them,” she says. That will change only when people see her for what she is: a resident. □

INTERVIEW

PRESIDENT CYRIL RAMAPHOSA ON FIXING SOUTH AFRICA

BY ARYN BAKER

On April 15, TIME met with President Cyril Ramaphosa at his official residence, three weeks before the May 8 election. A longtime antiapartheid activist and high-ranking official of the ANC, the 66-year-old became Deputy President in 2014 and South Africa's fifth President in February 2018 after Jacob Zuma resigned amid allegations of corruption and "state capture"—when private companies dictate government policy. This interview has been edited for length and clarity.

TIME: You worked closely with Nelson Mandela when South Africa had its first democratic elections in 1994. Twenty-five years on, what are you doing as President to build on his vision?

Ramaphosa: Nelson Mandela laid the foundation for South Africa to be what it is today. Before he became President, months after his release from prison [in 1990], Nelson Mandela took his time to go through the country, just to see how our people were living. He came back and he said our people were living under great hardships, and he was determined to make a great effort at changing the horror that he had seen. He introduced what you could call a quasi social-welfare system that has reduced the harsh impact of poverty on our people. Much of what [the ANC] is doing is carrying on Mandela's legacy. South Africa must emerge out of this widespread poverty.

The ANC has had 25 years to reduce poverty, yet last year the World Bank declared that South Africa is the most unequal society in the world. What is to blame for that?

That inequality has its roots in our past. For instance, on education, the apartheid regime made sure that it spent almost five to six times more on a white child than it did on a black child. Economically, black people were prevented from owning businesses in the so-called

white areas. They were prevented from getting into professions.

So when we got into power, we had to deal with three things: inequality, poverty and unemployment. Poverty to a large extent has been reduced, we have reduced unemployment, we almost more than doubled the size of the economy. But inequality has remained extremely stubborn. That [is because of] an economy that is not growing fast enough. We've also made some mistakes.

Like what?

Like, for instance, apartheid designed that black people would live far away from the economic centers of our country. I was born literally 5 km from Johannesburg, but then we were [forcibly] moved 30 km out. People

spend more than 40% of their income on transport to come to the economic centers. Those are some of the things that we didn't pay close attention to, because instead of densifying our cities to bring poorer people into the cities, we continued to build houses. And we've built 4.3 million houses farther and farther away from the cities. That exacerbated our poverty.

But I always say that the glass is half full, because over the past 25 years a great deal has been achieved to change the socioeconomic landscape of South Africa. We still have enormous challenges—about 27% of our people are unemployed, and much higher for young people. But it is a challenge that we're addressing using the foundation that Nelson Mandela built for us: stable, functioning institutions that we can rely



PHOTOGRAPH BY KENT ANDREASEN FOR TIME

on. It's like shock absorbers to anything that could cause instability.

One of your biggest election issues is land reform, or the promise of restitution for and redistribution of land lost during apartheid and the colonial period. Why is that?

The land issue was the original sin that was committed against the people of South Africa. Our Freedom Charter, the guiding document for the ANC, says land shall be available to all those who work it. We will ensure that as our people get access to land, they will be able to grow the economy. We also said that as land is parceled out to people, it should not lead to lower agricultural production or threaten food security.

But the ANC manifesto now embraces expropriation of land without compensation, doesn't it?

The land question is going to be handled properly in terms of our laws, in terms of our constitution, and we will not allow any land grabs. Parliament is going to pass a law that [defines] the parcels of land that are going to be subjected to this process. The aim of all this is to give security of tenure, not only to those who own land, but to the landless as well. We will use the Mandela magic of finding solutions so that everybody feels that they are winning, and through that, we are able to build a nation and reconcile everyone. That has been my approach.

And that is why many white South Africans have not felt so fearful as to pack up their bags and go. And that is why even foreign companies have been coming to South Africa and saying, "We have confidence in your constitution, in the rule of law and your institutions." As President, I want to raise \$100 billion in the next five years. We've already gone a long way, about 33% of that amount, just in one year, showing that a number of people still have confidence in [us].

Every day new allegations surface about corruption in your party. State capture under President Jacob Zuma. Alleged corruption and criminality among current ANC leaders. What are you doing to clean up the party? There is a lot that is wrong in the party. There is a lot that we need to correct.

We have moved away from our values, our principles, and we were quite clear that we have to renew the ANC to make sure that it regains its stature, its integrity and its credibility, which it had lost over the past few years. I don't know many parties in the world that have the ability to talk openly and honestly about their weaknesses, their problems, including corruption within the party. Having done so, we [have] embarked on a process of renewal, but we also need to know the full truth of what has been happening. So we appointed commissions [to] unravel the truth.

'WE WILL USE THE MANDELA MAGIC OF FINDING SOLUTIONS SO THAT EVERYBODY FEELS THAT THEY ARE WINNING.'

What has that achieved? There have been no prosecutions, no accountability.

In the course of time, we found that the institutions that are supposed to make people accountable had also been corrupted. What was done [under Zuma] was quite deep. There was a network that was put in place to break down the institutions, to debilitate the processes of making people accountable. The police have been compromised, the prosecutors have been compromised. The Internal Revenue Service was compromised. It would be wishful thinking that compromised institutions could turn around, without them being revamped and reconstructed and repositioned.

These things do take time. But I can assure everyone is that the die is cast. These misdemeanors are going to be followed up. They are going to be properly processed, and there will be prosecutions. People will have to answer for the wrongs that they have done.

Yet many of those very same people are poised to represent the ANC at the election on May 8. How does this demonstrate the party's new stance against corruption?

That's been a result of the democratic process within the party. Some of the people argue, "I have not been charged. I have not been found guilty. These are allegations." So they are [still] on the list. It has been a rather difficult situation for the ANC. We set up an Integrity Commission, which is going to be dealing with that. We are a process-driven organization. We just don't do things recklessly, and I am not a reckless person. You've got to be proper, methodical, because that way you then avoid making mistakes.

Your critics say you are reluctant to crack down on allegedly corrupt people in your party, because you fear your presidency itself might be undermined by these rival centers of power. What do you say to them?

I know of no political party that is monolithic in terms of its unity. What we have sought to do is to forge unity in the ANC, and unity is not a one-day affair. It's a process. Am I worried? No, because the process of unity will enable everyone to see the errors of their ways. All the cows will come into the kraal [corral] eventually because the message of unity is much more powerful.

U.S. President Donald Trump has tweeted negatively about South Africa, and he still hasn't appointed an ambassador. Is the relationship between the two countries deteriorating?

The United States is a very important country, and our foreign policy is about having good relations with all nations in the world. We show serious consideration to all the nations that we deal with, and at the same time we also want to be respected. And if President Trump makes all these tweets, we've always been saying we want to engage. We want to have a discussion with him so that he can understand where we come from, because at times people say things without knowing the full background and the context.

□

When Civilizations Dialogue

The upcoming Asian civilization dialogue conference aims to promote exchanges and understanding **By Shi Yongming**

The Asian civilization dialogue conference to be held in Beijing in May will explore the importance of cultural exchanges and mutual learning.

Proposed by Chinese President Xi Jinping, the conference aims to promote exchanges and dialogue among different civilizations and development models. The participants include state leaders, heads of international organizations and representatives from various fields of humanities.

"We should encourage different civilizations to respect each other and live in harmony so that exchanges and mutual learning among civilizations will become a bridge promoting friendship among the peoples of the world, an engine driving the progress of human society and a bond cementing world peace," Xi said at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris in March 2014.

A prominent issue facing the changing modern era is how to build a global civilization system in the context of deepening economic globalization. The international community needs to ponder the issue of civilization so as to find the right direction for the future development of human society.

A relative concept

To this day, there is no clear definition of the word civilization. According to *A History of Civilizations* written by French historian Fernand Braudel, the word first appeared in the mid-18th century, meaning the process of becoming civilized as opposed to the state of barbarism.



The author is an op-ed contributor to *Beijing Review* and a senior expert on international studies

The concept of civilization has an absoluteness that shows that the social governance system of human beings has developed to a certain extent. However, since civilization is the opposite of barbarism, its connotation is relative. That is, a specific form of civilization usually carries the limitations of its times. It may be a civilized society compared to the society before it, but it may very well be a barbaric society in comparison to the society that comes after.

While inspiring the Japanese to learn from modern Western civilization, Yukichi Fukuzawa, a famous Japanese intellectual, also pointed out that the wars initiated by Western countries are barbaric acts. Therefore, he suggested, when learning from Western civilization, Japan must make innovations instead of being satisfied with what it learns. But ironically, Fukuzawa, along with many others in the country who were inspired by his ideas, learned from the elements of barbarism displayed by Western civilization and embarked on a path of militaristic aggression and expansion.

Even today, Western civilization tends to use force to solve problems, and exercise power politics in the international arena. This is the biggest problem human civilization has encountered in its development.

Civilization is the targeted progress of human beings. The essential nature of a specific civilization refers to the material and spiritual wealth created by humanity for its own survival and development, which is a representative feature of human beings.

As a unique accomplishment of humanity, civilization began with the manufacturing of tools, indicating that humans had begun to break away from their natural existence to become intelligent creatures seeking self-existence. The historical progress of humanity parallels the development of civilization, while the manufacturing of tools reflects the improvement of human cognition and creativity.

Along with a material one, human beings also created a spiritual civilization, the focus of which is social construction. The development of civilization consists of material production capacity that satisfies the needs of human beings and the social construction ability that leads to harmonious and happy lives. The two aspects complement each other and propel each other in the direction of harmony and happiness. Thus, the essence of civilization is the progress of human beings with their own happiness as the core. There is no inevitable conflict among different civilizations; instead, there is a driving force for mutual integration. The factors that lead to conflict are precisely based on the reality that we are not that civilized.

Learning from others

Historically, the development of human civilization has been uneven. This imbalance is not only manifest in the difference in time, but also in geographical distribution. The relative isolation of some geographical environments and language barriers have led to cultural differences, which is a manifestation of civilization. In spite of this, there is almost no civilization that is isolated from the world or that can rely solely on its own development. Learning from foreign cultures is an important step in the development of various civilizations.

The European alphabet was created by ancient Egyptians, traveled through Greece and Rome, and finally was introduced to the rest of Europe. Learning what already exists is much easier than creating something new; this simple truth shows that a civilization that is willing to develop is also willing to learn from others. Therefore, mutual learning among different civilizations is a natural occurrence, but something that may be more common in Asia.

For example, during the Tang Dynasty (618–907), China sent Xuanzang, an eminent



Musicians from Kazakhstan play traditional instruments during the opening ceremony of the 2016 Silk Road International Expo in Xi'an, northwest China's Shaanxi Province, on May 13, 2016



An Indian yoga teacher with her students at the Yunnan Minzu University in Kunming, southwest China's Yunnan Province, on April 27, 2017

Buddhist monk, to India to study Buddhism. Japan dispatched envoys to China to learn Chinese culture during that same period. This shows Asian countries conducted cultural exchanges in a civilized way in history. Of course, the true meaning of civilization is not simply copying from others, but re-creating after learning.

Downside of interventionism

In many other cases, however, interaction among civilizations was achieved through conflict. The spread of modern Western civilization relied mainly on conquest by force.

The Western conquest of the world has brought two innovations, namely, globalization and modernization. For Asian countries, traditional cultures are thus challenged. Almost no Asian country has rejected these innovations but they have been challenged as to how to synergize them with their traditional cultures. The difficulties lie to some extent in differences in cultural structures, but mainly in self-centered Western interventionism, which deprives people of the right to construct their own civilizations and turns the process of mutual learning into a kind of obedience, which is harmful for all.

After World War II, with the establishment

of the United Nations, the construction of human civilization entered a new stage of economic cooperation based on sovereign equality, cultural diversity and social development. However, the Cold War led to estrangement and rivalry among some countries in Asia.

With economic globalization after the Cold War, the cooperation momentum in the Asian region was enhanced. But mutual recognition is still obstructed by several factors. The clash of civilizations and values as well as geopolitical conflicts in the international community have posed many problems for cooperation among Asian countries.

The common issue facing Asian countries is how to develop their own countries. The process of modernization is not merely about economic development, nor is it a simple process of upgrading the superstructure, which may involve a cultural transformation as well. Since modernization features Western civilization at its core, it still contains the barbaric factors Fukuzawa once pointed out.

Asian countries need to absorb the essence of human progress, discard the dross, carry forward the fine traditions of their own civilizations, and walk their own path of mutual learning and re-creating. Promoting dialogue among Asian countries is a joint effort to re-create civilization and build a bright future for all. ■

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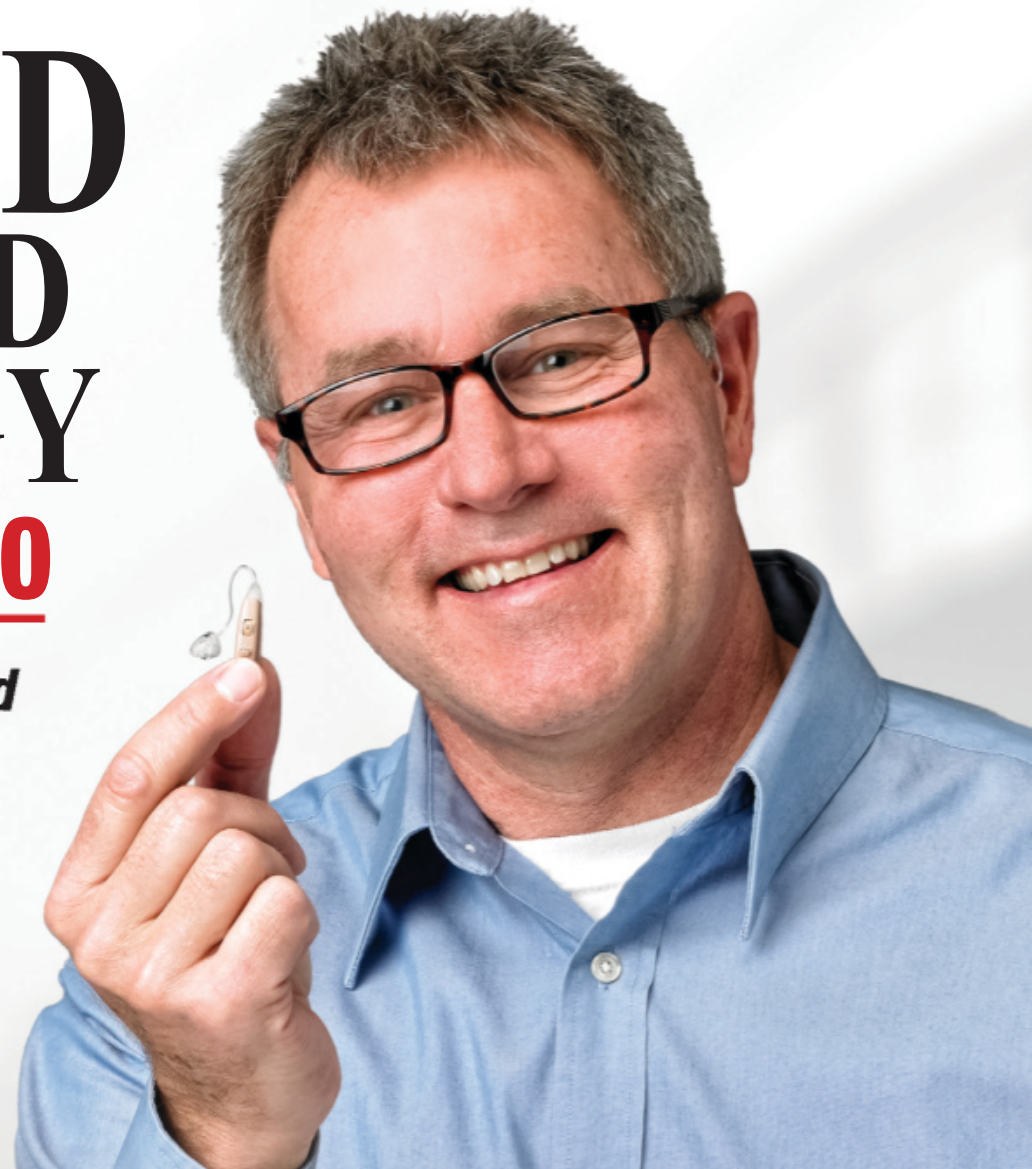
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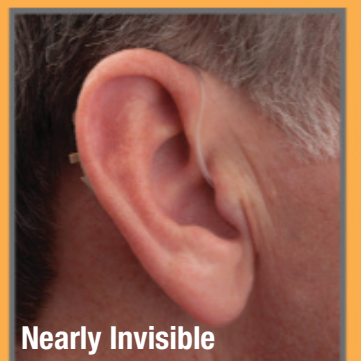
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Time Off

A MODEST PROPOSAL
In a new book, feminist pioneer Eve Ensler suggests men do the unthinkable: apologize



INSIDE

A DOCUMENTARY EXPLORES THE
FOSTER-CARE SYSTEM

CHARLIZE THERON STEALS THE
SHOW IN A POLITICAL ROM-COM

BIRDS OF A FEATHER IN
NETFLIX'S TUCA & BERTIE

PHOTOGRAPH BY CAROLINE TOMPKINS FOR TIME

BOOKS

Eve Ensler wants an apology

By Eliana Dockterman

THIS ISN'T A PSYCHOLOGIST'S OFFICE. IT'S A cavernous Manhattan loft, the kind with an elevator that opens directly into the apartment. But my conversation with its resident, famed feminist Eve Ensler, feels suspiciously like a therapy session. And I'm the patient.

I should have seen this coming. Ensler, 65, has always been the probing sort: She made her name interviewing women about their genitalia, sexuality and body image, performing versions of their stories in *The Vagina Monologues*. Twenty-three years later, it remains a seminal feminist text and has been staged in more than 140 countries.

Today I'm here to talk to Ensler about a particularly difficult subject: her claim that her father physically and sexually assaulted her throughout her childhood, a topic she has historically evaded in interviews but is finally ready to address head-on. Thirty-one years after her father's death, Ensler has written an apology to herself in his voice. That letter, spanning 112 pages, fills her physically slight but emotionally weighty book, *The Apology*, out May 14.

Ensler tells me that it's one of her "deep fantasies" that abusers will use her book as a blueprint for an apology done right. She's been disappointed by the self-pitying public statements released, particularly over the past year and a half, by men accused of abusing women. "I haven't seen a single man reckon with what he's done," she says. "Sixteen thousand years of patriarchy, and I don't know that I've ever heard a real, public apology from a man."

The question of whether people who abuse others should have a public voice at all is itself controversial, and Ensler never expected to advocate hearing out the accused. In 2015, she wrote a piece for this magazine in which she compared the quest to understand Bill Cosby, who was facing multiple accusations of sexual assault, to the agony she felt in dissecting her father's behavior: "I cannot explain why these men did what they did," she wrote. "I've given way too many years analyzing their perverse psychology, and I've exhausted every option. I no longer give a damn."

But here she is, tackling that very project. Sitting beside her at a long wooden table, I read her own quote back to her and ask her what's changed. "Look—it took me 65 years to get here," she says. "I needed to be enraged for a long time." She equates living with trauma to living in a cage. "Sometimes you shake the cage, sometimes you try to steal the key—all survivors are in that process." She needed to write this apology to free herself, and she thinks doing the same might unburden other women too. "It's not prescriptive," she says. "But it's deeply healing."

Here is where things go awry. This is a challenging subject, and as we begin to talk about trauma and healing, I try the old reporter's trick where you offer a morsel of your



Ensler performs her breakout play *The Vagina Monologues* in 2006

own experience in hopes of evening the playing field and deepening the conversation. But by the end of our talk, she's unpacking the aftershocks of a traumatic experience from my life, asking personal questions that send me reeling. I leave the interview shaking.

ENSLEER WANTS TO SHARE a spiritual experience—with me, and with all women. She likens writing *The Apology* to a fever dream. She believes her father came to her during the process. "It's not even my language, a lot of it," she says. "If someone beats you or rapes you or molests you, they enter [your consciousness]. And what I learned from this book is you can change the trajectory of your ongoing, internal dialogue with your perpetrator."

Ensler suddenly "realized," as she puts it, aspects of her father's life that he never told her, beginning with how he was overindulged by his mother. "Adoration is a way of killing people's humanity," she says. In her view, her father never learned to doubt himself or empathize with others. And like his entire generation of men, he was taught



not to cry.

At some point, he started watching Cary Grant movies—he looked just like Cary Grant—and discovered that he could cover up his growing callousness with charm. His personality split in two: the seducer and the sadist. He was the type of man who would never apologize for anything. Within the metaphysical world imagined by Ensler in *The Apology*, he only speaks to her because he's been trapped in a torturous limbo for the three decades since his death.

She believes apologies are for both the person who gives and the person who receives. Offering an apology isn't a punishment for an abuser—it's a liberation. Yet according to her book, apologies have strict guidelines: the perpetrator must say the crime out loud; acknowledge how his actions have impacted his victim; empathize with her; feel profound remorse; and do "extensive work" to understand what made him commit the crime.

I tell Ensler this framework seems unrealistic to me. I once spent several days observing convicted rapists in court-mandated sex-offender therapy for a

story, and they struggled with this sort of self-reflection and empathy even after years of treatment. In her book, Ensler imagines her father uttering lines like, "I am profoundly grateful [to you]. How odd. I was never grateful . . . Why would I be grateful when the world was rightfully endowed to me?" Nobody speaks this way, and some may find the book flat in its one-dimensional depiction of the two characters. But others might say, fairly, that the emotional resonance of a work of art matters more than its realism. Ensler's stories about the abuse and how she hardened herself in response to it are undeniably shattering.

Even so, the book's greatest strength may be in its potential as a piece of activism. So many #MeToo conversations take place among women, rather than between women and men. Ensler believes that apologies like the one she has put forth could create a bridge. In that spirit, she plans to launch a website where survivors can submit anonymous letters they've written in the voices of their abusers, and hopes some perpetrators might contribute too. And someday, men might perform these apologies onstage—an inversion of *The Vagina Monologues*.

MY TALK WITH ENSLER about *The Apology* broadens into a larger discussion about how to handle all the bad men. Men, she asserts, are hurt as much by the patriarchy as women are. I agree. We discuss the anxieties so many of us face about raising boys to become respectful, empathetic men in a culture that prioritizes their needs over those of women. I tell her that raising a "good boy" seems hard, and that I worry about how I might someday do it. And without meaning to, I've opened a door.

Later, once I have turned off my recorder, she does what she has done with so many other women: She asks me about myself. But it feels more like she is telling me about myself. She suggests that my anxiety about having a male child is connected to my fear that he will grow up to hurt women in the same way that I was hurt. She theorizes that I've spent so much of my career

writing about feminism, sexism, assault and harassment as a direct response to my own experience. Writing this book, she says, made her feel like an artist reborn—freed from the shackles of only creating work about her trauma. She tells me to write my own letter, so I can feel that too.

In this moment, I want to believe her. She has spent her entire career speaking to abused women. Her nonprofit V-Day, founded after *The Vagina Monologues* debuted, has been a force in the global fight against gender violence, including rape and genital mutilation. I have always seen her as a spokesperson for the female experience as she has used her own voice to amplify other women's stories of joy and suffering onstage in her most famous work, as well as her plays *Emotional Creature*, about girls' experiences growing up, and *The Good Body*,

about women's struggles with their health and appearance. The weight of her authority is almost crushing. Still, I demur. "I think I'm fine," I tell her.

But when I leave Ensler's loft, my heart is pounding. I stop on a park bench nearby, in the hopes that I might "realize"—in her vocabulary—something

about the person who hurt me. For days after I wonder if I will suddenly find myself, pen in hand, beginning to craft the apology he never offered, liberating me from some years-long burden. But my ghost doesn't arrive. Neither does the impulse to conjure him.

Who am I to disagree with this elder stateswoman of feminism who has endured so much yet still strives to find ways to heal herself and her gender? Maybe Ensler was able to produce a more rigorous and truthful psychological assessment of me in two hours than I have been able to do for myself in a lifetime. Maybe her recommendation, writing this letter, would suture a wound I didn't even know I had.

Or maybe it wouldn't. Because every woman knows what it's like to do a man's emotional labor for him, and I've grown weary of that. Sure, I could write a fantasy of an apology. But I'd rather have no apology at all. □

'It took me 65 years to get here. I needed to be enraged for a long time.'

EVE ENSLER,
on reckoning with
childhood abuse



"I like a challenge," says Beavers, with foster daughter Sydney

REVIEW

Families are the worst, and the best, in *Foster*

By Belinda Luscombe

EURCYLENE BEAVERS ALWAYS WANTED A LOT OF children, and she got her wish—just not the way she expected. Beavers, who's in her 60s, gave birth to a daughter, but has mothered more children than she can count through the foster system. She currently has four at home, including one of the three she adopted, Jake, who has cerebral palsy.

While the rate of child maltreatment has dropped in the past 30 years, U.S. child-protection authorities still get about 4 million calls a year. Research suggests that 1 in 8 American children is neglected or abused by the age of 18. It's one thing to know the numbers behind the foster-care system. But it's quite another to watch Denyshia, 13, one of Beavers' charges, say matter-of-factly, "I was abandoned ... I didn't think no one would ever want me."

America's foster-care system, which is typically covered by the media only in the wake of egregious failures and the discovery of horrifically treated children, has recently been receiving a second look. The TV show *The Fosters* had a respectable five-year run until 2018, the same year Sean Anders' semi-autobiographical comedy *Instant Family* found box-office success. Now there's the documentary *Foster*, debuting May 7 on HBO, which takes a look at the guts of the Los Angeles department of children's services, the largest county child-protection agency in America.

Beavers is one of several admirable people the documentary follows, along with judges, commissioners, social workers,

The infrastructure that must be built when a family collapses does not have the luxury of being graceful

lawyers, first responders and child advocates. The humanity of each one is beyond dispute. Yet, as the film shows, the system they help comprise looks different for the people caught in it—like Dasani, 16, who is put in juvenile hall after an alleged fight at his group home is followed by a positive test for marijuana. If he had parents, they'd handle it in-house—but the man he called his dad murdered his mom. The menu of disciplinary responses for kids in foster care is much sparser and usually involves law enforcement, so Dasani winds up under court supervision.

THE FOSTER SYSTEM is difficult for media to portray well for a reason: it's built to protect young people, both their safety and their privacy. One of the real achievements of the filmmakers, producer Deborah Oppenheimer and director Mark Jonathan Harris (who together won an Oscar for *Into the Arms of Strangers*, a film with a related theme), is the legwork they must have done to earn the trust of many of the system's players. Oppenheimer went for ride-alongs with social workers late at night to see how they worked, and the crew was granted close access to the courts, even following one couple as they try to win their newborn daughter back after the mother tests positive for cocaine in the labor ward.

What the film makes clear is that many people who work in the foster system are as good-hearted, skilled and industrious as you could hope humans who work with fragile children would be. And yet the system struggles mightily to be anything approaching humane. The infrastructure that must be built when a family collapses does not have the luxury of being graceful. "This work is hard as hell," says foster child turned social worker Jessica Chandler in one of the film's blunter moments.

Oppenheimer says she hoped to make a hopeful film, one in which Beavers gets legal guardianship of one of her foster children, Dasani is not incarcerated, and the drug-taking mom gets clean and reunites her family. But as the credits roll, the epilogues do too. Beavers is inundated with requests to help. Nobody takes in Dasani. The new parents split. When families come apart, victories don't last long.

□ HBO

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Efron as Bundy: killer charisma

REVIEW

You'd fall for him too

There's nothing more unsettling than acknowledging serial killers as people: it's much more convenient to think of them as monsters. That's the nerve director Joe Berlinger strikes with *Extremely Wicked, Shockingly Evil and Vile*, his unsettling drama recounting the grisly story of sociopathic murderer Ted Bundy through the eyes of his longtime girlfriend Liz Kendall, who clung to her belief in his innocence even as the evidence against him mounted.

Zac Efron plays Bundy, the bright aspiring lawyer who used his charms to put women at ease before brutally murdering them. (In 1989, just before his execution, he confessed to 30 such murders, though authorities believe the true number is much higher.) Lily Collins plays Liz, the single mom who served as an anchor in Bundy's life—though his professed need for her may have been just one of his gnarled deceptions. It's hard to know for sure, but both performances are terrific. Efron's affable charisma is chilling and persuasive, while Collins is tenderly sympathetic to Liz's anguish. She's like a sleepwalker in love, drifting toward a cruel awareness: the man of her dreams is also her worst nightmare.

—Stephanie Zacharek

REVIEW

Theron is a sure thing in *Long Shot*

AMAZINGLY—OR PERHAPS NOT—ONLY now, almost 20 years into the 21st century, has the culture finally begun to acknowledge how women are held to standards we'd never apply to men, especially in the political arena. Her voice is too shrill! You wouldn't want to have a beer with her! Her hand gestures are annoying! By the time anyone gets around to asking a female candidate about policy, she's lucky if she hasn't been scrutinized into a pile of dust.

In *Long Shot*, directed by Jonathan Levine (*The Wackness*, *Snatched*), Seth Rogen plays Fred Flarsky, a crusading, schlubby-but-cute journalist at an alternative newspaper who quits on principle when his outlet is bought by a Rupert Murdoch-type tycoon (Andy Serkis). Luckily, he lands another job almost immediately, as a speechwriter for brilliant presidential hopeful Charlotte Field (Charlize Theron), who used to be his babysitter. Charlotte is currently Secretary of State, and her platform involves a set of ambitious environmental initiatives. Fred helps her find effective ways to sell her ideas, and the two fall in love. Miraculously, the movie makes you believe it.

Even more believable, though, are

Charlotte's efforts to be taken seriously as a candidate: the world has a hard time accepting that such a dazzling, sophisticated woman could also be smart enough to be President. *Long Shot* features some wonderful, wicked gags, like Lisa Kudrow in a cameo as a campaign consultant who has parsed every nuance of Charlotte's mannerisms and assessed them for likability. (She informs the aspiring Commander in Chief that to win, she'll have to completely rework the dynamics of her wave: "The level of elbow movement freaks people out.")

Wisely, Levine and writers Liz Hannah and Dan Sterling don't fixate too much on Fred's "Can you believe I landed this amazing girlfriend?" astonishment. That puts most of the focus on Theron, where it should be. She's a marvelous comic actor, as at home with bawdy humor as with the brainier kind, and her timing has its own rare and specific style: her lines tend to tilt sideways, with the quiet finesse of a balsa-wood glider, before coming in for a soft but neat landing. She's an elegant goofball, funny in an over-the-shoulder way, not an in-your-face way, and every moment spent watching her is a pleasure. Hail to the chief. —S.Z.



Rogen and Theron keep democracy alive

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Judy (Cardellini, left) and Jen (Applegate) drown their sorrows

TELEVISION

Strife after death on Netflix

By Judy Berman

“WHEREVER JUDY GOES, CHAOS TENDS to follow.” So says James Marsden in the Netflix black comedy *Dead to Me*. Taken together, his utterance (an early contender for my own epitaph) and the fact that a long list of embargoed spoilers prevents me from even writing his character’s name illustrate much of this addictive new show’s appeal. The story packs big twists into each half-hour episode—most of them driven by the kind but unmoored Judy (Linda Cardellini), who’s constantly ratcheting up the entropy.

Created by Liz Feldman, a writer and producer of the broad CBS sitcom *2 Broke Girls*, *Dead to Me* makes for a much sharper series about an unlikely friendship between two women. An uptight California real estate agent and mom of two boys, Christina Applegate’s Jen has recently lost her husband Ted in a hit-and-run. Unable to control her rage at the unknown driver and sluggish police investigation, she turns to a bereavement support group.

It’s there that she meets Judy, another grieving 40-something, whose hippie calm soothes Jen’s anger. Judy soon moves into her friend’s guest-house, becoming the adult confidante

and surrogate second parent Jen so desperately needs.

But what initially appears to be a gentle dramedy about an odd couple healing together soon becomes a tart thriller fueled by the many secrets Judy, Jen and the people who surround them are holding inside. If some of these lies are hard to swallow—and Feldman teases the biggest bombshell far more often than is actually effective—the slow pace at which the deceptions reveal themselves matches the speed at which we get to know the characters. Informed by Jen and Judy’s superficial brand of feminism (“Don’t be a woman who blames the woman,” one scolds the other), the dialogue rings true. Even better is the chemistry between Cardellini and Applegate, ideal foils who balance keen comic instincts with raw emotion.

As the show suggests, we tend to see other people not as they are but as we need them to be, constructing elaborate fictions to convince ourselves that we’ll never get hurt by the people we love. It’s a depressing truth about relationships of all kinds—and Cardellini and Applegate mine it richly in this absurdist caper. □

TELEVISION

Bird city

Broad City is dead, but its spirit of metropolitan millennial friendship lives on in Netflix’s *Tuca & Bertie*, an animated comedy from *BoJack Horseman* vet Lisa Hanawalt. It’s a fun, watchable show, though its obsession with woke relevance eventually starts to grate.

Like *BoJack*, *Tuca* is populated by animals (and some plants) with humanoid bodies. A free-spirited toucan gambling on the gig economy, Tuca (voiced by Tiffany Haddish) is the confident, hypersexual Ilana of the pair. That makes Bertie (Ali Wong) the Abbi, a neurotic songbird who’s leaning in to her boring job at publisher “Condé Nest” but dreams of becoming a pastry chef. After years as roommates, Tuca has just moved upstairs so Bertie can cohabit with her bland boyfriend, Speckles (Steven Yeun).

Their adventures are often delightful. Haddish nails every one-liner. Hanawalt’s kinetic animation facilitates some wild, surreal comedy. Yet *Tuca* tries so hard to be relatable that it can feel pandering. Season 1 cycles through #MeToo, impostor syndrome, self-care, mental illness, sober dating and fear of commitment as though it’s marking items on a checklist. For a show that looks like *BoJack* and borrows from *Broad City*—two comedies that take very different but equally elegant approaches to topical issues—that clunkiness is disappointing. —J.B.



DEAD TO ME: TUCA & BERTIE: NETFLIX; CHERNOBYL: HBO; STATE OF THE UNION: SUNDANCE TV



Legasov (Harris, right) speaks scientific truth to absolute power

TELEVISION

The timely lessons of *Chernobyl*

By Judy Berman

YOU KNOW YOU'RE IN FOR A BLEAK story when the hero kills himself in the first scene, as Jared Harris' character does at the outset of HBO's *Chernobyl*. Not that anyone who tunes in to a miniseries with a title like that should be surprised to find out they're in for five hours of anguish, terror and death. There's no bright side to the 1986 reactor explosion that likely killed thousands in Soviet Ukraine, rendering the surrounding area uninhabitable for centuries to come and making the word *Chernobyl* synonymous with the risks of nuclear energy. But, grim as it is, the saga still has plenty of political resonance.

The show's structure is unnecessarily complicated. After flashing forward to the suicide of Harris' Valery Legasov in 1988, creator Craig Mazin jumps jarringly back to the night of the explosion. An action spectacle that dominates the premiere, which airs on May 6, this sequence captures the scale of Chernobyl's mismanagement—yet it doesn't connect emotionally, because we don't know anything about the workers caught in this radioactive death trap. Ostensibly to build suspense about what really caused the disaster—which feels a bit inappropriate

in the context of a historical tragedy—Mazin saves what small glimpses he provides into their backstories for the final episode. Only the wife of an injured firefighter gets an ongoing subplot, one that gives her little to do besides weep.

The real leads don't come to the fore until the day after the explosion. Legasov is a renowned nuclear physicist; Boris Shcherbina (Stellan Skarsgård) is the gravel-voiced Communist Party man who travels with him to the still burning time bomb of a power plant; and Emily Watson plays Ulana Khomyuk, a brilliant, righteous (and fictional) scientist who tries to keep the panicked Legasov honest. As they appeal to politicians all the way up to Gorbachev, *Chernobyl* becomes a life-or-death struggle between experts and the ignorant bureaucrats for whom their warnings are an inconvenient truth.

This drives home the many obvious failures of Soviet authoritarianism, of course, and the ongoing threat of nuclear annihilation. At its best, however, *Chernobyl* demonstrates what happens when societies stop listening to science. Amid our rapidly worsening global climate crisis, it's a critical message. □

TELEVISION

Love in the time of Brexit

Divorce is the metaphor of the hour in the U.K., now three years into a half-hearted attempt to extricate itself from the European Union. So there's more than just one couple's marital woes fueling *State of the Union*, a SundanceTV short-form series from writer Nick Hornby and director Stephen Frears that will air on 10 consecutive nights starting on May 6. Set in a nondescript British bar, each 10-minute episode is a conversation between Rosamund Pike's pragmatic Louise and Chris O'Dowd's mopey Tom before their weekly therapy session; she cheated, he moved out, and now the parents of two are trying to save their family.

Though the characters are archetypal opposites, as scripted by Hornby and portrayed by the likable leads, they're also longtime spouses with a distinctive shared language of imagination and overanalysis. Along with sex, Syria and movie taste, Brexit inevitably comes up. (He voted Leave; she voted Remain.) The underlying personal and political question is: Can people with little in common but entwined fortunes and lots of shared history maintain a united front? It's a thought that resonates far beyond Europe's borders. —J.B.



Louise (Pike) and Tom (O'Dowd) hold peace talks

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If you are a Settlement Class Member and do not want to remain in the Settlement Class, you may exclude yourself by request, received by July 3, 2019, in accordance with the Notice. If you exclude yourself, you will not be bound by any Court decisions in this litigation and you will not receive a payment, but you will retain any right you may have to pursue your own litigation at your own expense concerning the settled claims. Objections to the settlement, Plan of Allocation, or request for attorneys' fees and expenses must be received by July 3, 2019, in accordance with the Notice.

A hearing will be held on **August 8, 2019 at 11:00 a.m.**, before the Honorable Valerie E. Caproni, at the Thurgood Marshall U.S. Courthouse, 40 Foley Square, NY, NY 10007, to determine if the settlement, Plan of Allocation, and/or request for fees and expenses should be approved. Supporting papers will be posted on the website once filed.

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TimeOff Reviews



Chelsea Zerfas is among the gymnasts who shared stories of abuse

TELEVISION

Gymnastic gold at an unbearable price

By Alice Park

THERE'S A BITTERSWEET TINGE TO HBO'S CHRONICLE OF what may be the most extensive sexual-abuse scandal in sports history. The network's new documentary *At the Heart of Gold: Inside the USA Gymnastics Scandal* introduces us to a handful of the hundreds of young women—from local gymnasts to university athletes to Olympic team members—who were sexually abused over nearly two decades by Larry Nassar, a team doctor for USA Gymnastics. Nassar is now serving up to 175 years in prison for his criminal behavior, but for the survivors, the story isn't quite over.

It can't be, as they make clear in the film, since the damage caused by Nassar's abuse has left lasting emotional scars. The documentary doesn't fully answer the question of why Nassar wasn't banned from working with athletes after his abuse was reported as early as 1997, nor that of why the organizations these girls and women trusted with their careers and their personal safety didn't do more to protect them. In nearly all of the cases, the girls were sent to see Nassar to treat injuries by people they trusted: their coaches and trainers at both USA Gymnastics (USAG) and Michigan State University (MSU), where he also worked. (USAG still faces multiple lawsuits by gymnasts, and could lose its status as a national governing body for its inaction.)

Nassar's sentence is a Pyrrhic victory at best, stinging all the more since, in the opinion of the survivors, the institutions responsible still haven't been held fully accountable. "I feel only part of justice has been served," says Larissa Boyce, a former MSU gymnast who was among Nassar's first victims in 1997. "Hundreds of girls who were abused—some weren't even born yet when I reported."

It was a culture in which perfection is the goal and gymnasts are seen but not heard that created the ideal environment for a predator like Nassar—and it's the culture that still needs to change. When athletes, especially children, come forward with allegations of abuse, "people need to start by believing," says Boyce. "We aren't there yet. A lot more needs to be done."



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8 Questions

Emily Oster The economist and author of the modern pregnancy bible *Expecting Better* on her new book about data-driven parenting in the early years, *Cribsheet*

An economist isn't the first person you'd expect to get parenting advice from. How did you decide to apply that framework to this subject? I got pregnant. I started using a lot of the decision-making and data-analysis tools I use in my job to make choices about my pregnancy and then my parenting.

When you were deciding what to cover in *Cribsheet*, did parents seem particularly desperate for answers in certain areas? People are very starved for answers on breastfeeding and want to know how big a deal it is. They were also starved for answers on the how-tos of breastfeeding. The other place is sleep. It can be hard to get good answers about co-sleeping or sleep training.

You find some evidence supporting the benefits of breastfeeding, but not an overwhelming amount. Should hospitals put so much energy into promoting it? It is a good idea to provide support to women who want to breastfeed, and we don't provide as much as we should. You're telling people, "You have to do this," and then, "Don't take your breast out in public." But many women feel pressure and shame if they don't want to breastfeed or if it doesn't work. Misleading people about the size of the benefits, which only adds to that shame, is not good.

Truth itself feels slippery these days. Is there a parallel between parents wanting to believe their way is right and people wanting to believe their political views are right? There's this idea about motivated reasoning, more in psychology than in economics. You adapt the evidence to support your view. People do that in politics, and they do it here for the same reasons—people really care, and they want to make the right decision and to have *made* the right decision. It's hard to admit, I made the wrong choice, or it didn't matter, there are a lot of right choices.

“PEOPLE REALLY CARE, AND THEY WANT TO MAKE THE RIGHT DECISION AND TO HAVE MADE THE RIGHT DECISION”



You write that as kids get older, it gets harder to apply data to parenting. Could you write more books in this vein? Every kid is different, and they become more different as they get older. It's harder to think about data speaking to the questions you would have—What's the right kind of school? Should my kid skip a grade? I'm not sure I have as much to bring to the table.

When you were 2, you were the subject of a study called *Narratives From the Crib*, in which your parents recorded your precocious chatter to yourself in your crib. How do you feel about having been a research subject as a kid? I don't have any strong positive or negative feelings about it. I sometimes think about would I have done the same thing with my kids, and I think the answer is probably yes. Particularly with very little kids, I'm not sure there's so much privacy to protect.

You write about topics of heated debate like vaccines and circumcision. Do you get hate tweets shooting the messenger for delivering the data? I certainly got some with *Expecting Better*. I expect I will get more of it. There are relatively few things—vaccinations is an exception—where I say, I think the right decision is x, because in most cases the best decision involves taking into account the preferences and constraints of the family. I still expect a lot of angry tweets.

The acknowledgments say, “Mom, I know this makes you nervous, but thanks for supporting it anyway.” Can you explain? When this book comes out, some people will say, “You're not a good parent, you're ruining people's lives.” I'm prepared for that, and I think the book will help many people, but it really makes my mother feel bad when people say bad things about me.

She sounds like a very caring mother. She's a good mom. —ELIZA BERMAN



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FreeStyle Libre 14 day Flash Glucose Monitoring system is a continuous glucose monitoring (CGM) device indicated for replacing blood glucose testing and detecting trends and tracking patterns aiding in the detection of episodes of hyperglycemia and hypoglycemia, facilitating both acute and long-term therapy adjustments in persons (age 18 and older) with diabetes. The system is intended for single patient use and requires a prescription.

CONTRAINDICATIONS: Remove the sensor before MRI, CT scan, X-ray, or diathermy treatment.

WARNINGS/LIMITATIONS: Do not ignore symptoms that may be due to low or high blood glucose, hypoglycemic unawareness, or dehydration. Check sensor glucose readings with a blood glucose meter when Check Blood Glucose symbol appears, when symptoms do not match system readings, or when readings are suspected to be inaccurate. The system does not have alarms unless the sensor is scanned, and the system contains small parts that may be dangerous if swallowed. The system is not approved for pregnant women, persons on dialysis, or critically-ill population. Sensor placement is not approved for sites other than the back of the arm and standard precautions for transmission of blood borne pathogens should be taken. The built-in blood glucose meter is not for use on dehydrated, hypotensive, in shock, hyperglycemic-hyperosmolar state, with or without ketosis, neonates, critically-ill patients, or for diagnosis or screening of diabetes. When using FreeStyle LibreLink app, access to a blood glucose monitoring system is required as the app does not provide one. Review all product information before use or contact Abbott Toll Free (855-632-8658) or visit www.freestylelibre.us for detailed indications for use and safety information.

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* "Women, leadership, and the priority paradox." IBM Institute for Business Value. March 2019. <https://ibm.co/womenleaders>.

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